ANTAPOLOGIA:

Or, A Full Answer to the

Apologeticall Narration

OF

Mr Goodwin, Mr Nye, Mr Sympson, Mr Burroughs, Mr Bridge, Members of the Assembly of Divines.

Wherein many of the controversies of these times are handled, *viz.*

1. *Of a particular visible Church.*
2. *Of Classes and Synods.*
3. *Of the Scripture: how farre a Rule for Church Government.*
4. *Of Formes of Prayer.*
5. *Of the Qualifications of Church members.*
6. *Of Submission and Non-Communion.*
7. *Of Excommunication.*
8. *Of the power of the Civill Magistrate in Ecclesiasticals.*
9. *Of Separation and Schisme.*
10. *Of Tolerations, and particularly of the Toleration of Independit.*
11. *Of Suspension from the Lords Supper.*
12. *Of Ordination of Ministers by the people.*
13. *Of Church Covenant.*
14. *Of Non-residencie of Church-members.*

Humbly also submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament.

By THOMAS EDWARDS Minister of the Gospel.

Ephes. 4. 14. *That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the slight of men, and cunning craftinesse, whereby they lye in wait to deceive.*

Vers. 15. *But speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ.*

Matth. 24. 26. *Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth: Behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not.*

Augustinus Vincentio Epist. 48. non enim propter malos boni deserendi, sed propter bonos malis tolerandi sunt: sicut toleraverunt prophetæ contra quos tanta dicebant, nec communione & sacramentorum illius populi relinquebant.

Beza Epi. prima D. Andreæ Ducitio. Jactabimusne libertatem conscientiæ permittendam esse? Minimè ut hæc quidem libertas intelligitur, id est, ut quo quisque modo velet Deum colat. Est enim hoc meré diabolicum dogma, Sinendum esse unumquemque ut si velet pereat. Et illa est diabolica libertas quæ Poloniam & Transylvaniam hodie tot pestibus implevit, quas nulla alioqui sub sole regiones tolerarent.

LONDON, Printed by *T. R.* and *E. M.* for *Ralph Smith* at the *signe* of the Bible in Cornhill neer the Royall Exchange. 1646.

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DEar and beloved Christians, for your sakes in speciall who are apt to be troubled with many doubts and fears about the Constitution and Government of the visible Church, and the way of Worship and Communion in it, have I drawn up this present Answer, as to undeceive you in the Apologists, the *Apologie*, and their Church-way, so to satisfie you in your scruples and doubts about Presbytery. It was my love, care and respect to render consciences, that more especially moved me at first (now some 9 yeers ago) to fal upon the more thorough studying & searching into the controversies of the Church, *&c.* And the grounds which now of late have afresh revived my thoughts & studies that way, are, 1. The recovering & reducing conscientious Christians who are not to far engaged. 2. The setling some who are wavering and doubtfull 3. The keeping off others from falling. Now the first born of my latter thoughts and studies in this kind, is this *Antapologia*, which I here recommend to you for a true glasse to behold the faces of Presbytery and Independency in, with the beauty, order, strength of the one, and the deformity, disorder and weaknesse of the other: And good Reader, I have some reason to beleeve and hope, that if you will indeed read and consider, look impartially and throughly into this glasse, you may be either changed into the image of it, or at least be so stumbled at Independency, as to be kept from falling into it, and willing in the mean time to wait upon God in that way of his, an Assembly of so many learned and godly Divines, to see what he will be pleased to speak by them: I at first intended, and accordingly provided materials for a large Epistle to this Book, the more to make way for it in the hearts and consciences of the people, as well knowing there are laid in beforehand by many of the Independent party, many prejudices both against my person and the Book, to hinder if possible the fruit and benefit of it, yea to keep people from so much as reading any part of it, that so receiving and beleeving the Independent Grounds without hearing or examining the other side, they may be still kept in ignorance and error: I had many thoughts and purposes in my Epistle, to have given the Reader an account of my especiall cal to the making this Answer, as also to have laid down the Principles and Rules I more especially went by in the studying of these controversies, and then to have Apologized for my self and Book, by answering some objections and clearing aspersions cast abroad in this mistaking age, and by representing to the Reader my many sufferings, constant labors, *&c.* and so to have compared my grounds moving me to make this *Antapologia*, with the Apologists grounds occasioning their *Apologet. Narration*, and my Principles with their 3. Principles expressed in their *Apologie*, and my sufferings, troubles, patience, labors, with their exile and patience, *&c.* and then left them to the Reader to judge in those matters between us; but conceiving the danger of this way in comparing with the Apologists, least I might become a fool in glorying, and runne into the same fault I charge upon the Apologists, and least it might be thought I sought to commend my Answer by such wales rather then by the strength of the discourse it self, I resolved to forbear all those comparisons and vindications of my self, and to refer all to God; and that I may not hold the Reader too long in the porch, I will only insist somewhat upon justifying and clearing the lawfulnesse of the way and manner of this Answer, and the grounds I go upon for matters of fact reported in it, and this I must do of necessity, for besides other grounds calling for it, within these few dayes, just before the *Antapologie* was coming forth, a Pamphlet, entituled *The Anatomist Anatomized* was printed, rather to

prepossesse the Reader against the *Antapologie*, then to answer the *Anatomy of Independencie* (as all may see) and to be a shelter rather against this shower (as the Anatomizer calls it) ready to fall, then to dry up the drops already fallen: But I shall by the help of God, not only satisfie the Reader, that this covering is too narrow, and the stuffe too slight to keep out the shower from wetting, but make an advantage of it, even to gain the greater credit and beliefe to the things asserted in my Book, and to remove this opinion from lurking in many other bosomes, and in particular to make the charge sit heavier upon the Anatomizer, by speaking particularly to the matters of fact concerning him, in accepting of his motion and request, of proving the reports concerning him by witnesses, and before a judicatory, I must therefore answer to the three Propositions of the Anatomizer as they have reference to the *Antapologie*. 1. *That many things reported in this* Antapologie *are misreported*. 1. Let the Reader observe, that the Anatomizer though he play the fore game, and will be before-hand in speaking to a Book before it come forth (and *because truth will hardly overtake a lye that is set out foure or five dayes before it* (as himselfe speaks) therefore he will be sure to send forth in time, even some dayes before reports come out) yet the Anatomizer doth not say all things reported are misreported, so that though many things may be misreported, many things also may be truly reported; & in *pag* 4. in the definition he is pleased to give of the *Antapologie*, *'tis a Collection of such faults, as either mens mistakes and malice, or perhaps mens own infirmities have made, either beyond the seas or here*, he denies not the truth of all the reports and faults, but grants them with a perhaps. 1. I desire the Reader to condsider, that for the matters of fact related in the *Apologie*, which in this Answer I speak unto, asserting the contrary upon Reasons and grounds laid down by me, I never intended by such an Answer, to make a Judiciary infallible proof (which as 'tis not necessary in the way of answering matter of fact, so neither can it be by rational men expected, as if without that no sufficient Answer were given to disprove facts) but only a rationall probable proof from Letters and other Manuscripts going under the names of the Apologists, & superscribed to their known friends, from reports of men of credit, and such who have lived amongst them, hearing and seeing things, and from many circumstances of place, time, &c. by which in reason men may well judge accordingly, and for this kind of proof I beleeve I can make as rationall and conscientious a one to satisfie my self and all indifferent persons, to judge according to what I write, as hath been made these many yeers (for since the *Apologie* came forth, I have used a great deale of care, diligence, and circumspection, both by writing to know the truth of things I formerly had been informed of, and by enquiring particularly of many persons concerning circumstances and their proofs, and questioning with them how they knew such a thing, &c. as also by forbearing to insert matters related to me upon a single testimony and witnesse, where there were not other strong circumstances concurring to make them out;) And yet for all the care I have used, 'tis possible that among so many things related by me, there may be some mistakes in the reports of some circumstances in matters of order and time, place or number (though I know none such)] and yet the report and fact true, (A report may be true and yet mistaken in one circumstance, which when it comes to scanning may prove more foule in another,) so that the case stands thus, whether the *Apologists* relating such and such matters of fact, an Answerer having evidencies and testimonies by him of letters written in their names, reports from credible men, as godly Ministers and Christians their own friends, with other circumstances concurring, hath not reason to question the truth of such facts, and to answer to them, by laying down his grounds why he judges otherwise; and for my Answer to the

Apologists,

Apologists if in their Reply they deny any of the matters of fact I speak unto, I will in my Rejoynder at the end of it, print all their Letters, with other Letters of their friends that I have by me, and name the parties from whose hands I had them, and how I came by them, and relate other circumstances which for present I have concealed, and then let the Reader judge whether I had not reason to beleeve, and Answer as I do. But as for a Judiciary proof of all matters of fact in my *Antapologie*, I not seeing those Letters writ: and most of my Letters being but copies, and many of the facts being done beyond the seas, considering also 'tis possible the relators may mistake in some things, I cannot positively and judicially swear, and make out such a kind of proof. 3. For some matters of fact spoken to in this *Antapologia*, I know and am certain of in my owne knowledge, and had them from some of the Apologists own mouths, and though they may have forgotten them, I can for a need rubbe up their memories, by minding them of the place, times and occasions which they cannot deny; I have also some originall Letters by me to prove some things asserted by me in this answer, and for the most materiall things of their preaching and acting for their way, besides that the thing themselves speak and are notorious, I have many eare and eye witnesses both of Ministers and people which I can produce, so that if I have reason to beleeve a report of any things I see not, nor hear not upon the place, as that there was a siege at *York*, and a great victory obtained by the Parliaments Forces neer *York*, *&c.* I have ground to beleeve many of the particulars instanced in by way of Answer to the *Apologeticall Narration*: Now finding severall passages in the *Apologie* in point of fact, related with height of confidence, contrary to my knowledge and to the testimony of many, with a concurrence of other circumstances which I could not doubt of, and observing other matters of fact brought by the Apologists to take the people with, against which though there were not such strong proofs, yet in the drawing up my Answer to such particulars, whether might not I now upon probable grounds as one sufficient witnes with the circumstance of place and time, *&c.* question these, and judge them to be much like the others 4. Particularly for M. *Symp son*, because he hath publikely printed that the Antapologie *is a collection of such faults as either mens mistakes and malice, or perhaps mens own infirmities have made either beyond the seas or here*, in which sentence it is to be observed by the way he confutes all that's brought by himself against the *Antapology* or the *Antapologie*, *himself taking up reports suddenly, and beleeving heresayes*, before he ever saw any one sheet, yea or one page of the *Antapol.* branding a Minister and his Book *for a collection of such faults as either mens mistakes & malice have made*, by telling this not only to a partticular Church, *but to all the Churches in the world, as printing doth*,) and because he *puts up a request, that the Reader will not beleeve any reports of this kinde in the Book that is coming forth* (meaning the *Antapologie*) *untill the Authors of them will appeare and bring their witnesses to a faire hearing in any lawfull though the strictest Judicatorie, &c. and because he saith, in what he is guilty before men he will confesse ingenuously*; That the Reader may not be deluded to beleeve what's said by him there, and by that be prepossest against the truth of the *Antapologie*, I accept of his motion and request, and if he will be pleased to procure any lawfull though the strictest Judicatory, yea the highest, I am ready for so much as concerns him, to appear and bring my witnesses to a faire hearing, and if the Judicature will give time, and grant Warrants to bring in the witnesses that they may be deposed, I doubt not but besides a rationall Answer by way of writing (which I intended) to make also a full Judiciarie proof, yea to prove more then yet I have charged Mr *Sympson* with, only I desire if I must be put to this trouble, that Mr. *Sympsons small and just request may be granted* by

the Judicature, *that he may ſuffer if he have done what in the* Antapologie *is reported of him*, and if I cannot make it good, then I am contented to ſuffer, and I am willing alſo to be judged by his own Law, Pag. 7. *Lege Remmia*, to be branded with a *K.* in the forehead, if I do not by witneſſes prove his preaching and acting for his way, upon condition he may be ſerved ſo if I do, and to the letter *K.* to have the addition of *L.* and *P.* But it may be objected, Why doth Mr. *Sympſon* of all the Apologiſts put forth ſuch a Book before hand, and dare it thus? I anſwer in his own words, *ſome may perhaps conceive 'tis a ſigne of guilt to ſpeak ſo much*, and I conceive M. *Sympſons* guilt and conſciouſneſſe cauſed fear, and fear that haſtned him to thruſt forth ſomething in the way of the *Antapologie*, to blaſt the credit of it before it was come forth, and the truth of it is, he of all the *Apologiſts* hath been moſt faulty both in *Holland* and in *England*, and for the cloſe of this concerning whats reported in the *Antapologie* of Mr. *Sympſon*, I ſhall ſpeak in the words made uſe of by himſelf, *God taketh the wiſe in their own craftineſſe, and will deſtroy ſuch wiſdome*, and ſo I beleeve he hath done this of M. *Sympſons* foreſtalling the *Antapologie*, had M. *Sympſon* remembred a late example of M. P. and M. *W.* brought in to prove what they had ſaid and written of a Perſon of place, and the iſſue of that triall, or had he ſtaid till the *Antapologie* had come forth to have read what I charge him with, he would never have written thus.

2 Propoſ. *That tis no way of God to divulge mens perſonall faults, ſuppoſing the matter of facts to be true, yet the divulging of them in this manner is not according to the word of God.*

I anſwer, all that is brought by the Anatomizer for proof page 5. out of *Matth.* 18. and his other grounds are nothing to the caſe and point in hand, namely of making this Anſwer, and I would aske Mr. *Sympſon*, whether it be lawfull to make any Anſwer at all to the *Apologie*, if it be, then certainly if the Apologiſts have perſonall things and matters of fact, no man can anſwer them fully, and as they ought to be anſwered, but he muſt ſpeak to perſonall things and matters of fact, and the fault of divulging perſonall things is not in the *Antapologiſts* but in the *Apologiſts*: As for the 18. of *Matthew*, that ſpeaks of private offences, and of offences that may be in that way healed, and the other grounds brought by Mr. *Sympſon* ſpeaks to offences already repented of, and not of ſuch which inſtead of being judged faults are made uſe of publikely to draw men into a way of error by, I give therefore theſe two diſtinct Anſwers: 1. The *Apologiſts* have publikely and openly ſinned in avowing ſome things in the *Apologie*, and they never yet repented of them, (as I heard) but Maſter *Sympſon* juſtifies himſelf, and them in his *Anatomiſt anatomized*, page 4. Now the Apoſtles rule is 1 *Tim.* 5. 19, 20. though *Timothy* may not receive an accuſation againſt an Elder under two or three witneſſes, yet them that ſinne openly may be rebuked before all, that others may fear, now as the *Apologiſts* by Printing told all the Churches, ſo by Printing it may be told to all the Churches, the remedy ought to be proportioned according to the diſeaſe, the plaiſter to be as large as the ſore, the *Apologie* hath ſpread it ſelf to the Parliament, City, Kingdom, and ſo ought the Remedy; may Independents publikely and confidently write untruths, and may not others in way of anſwering plainly point at them, but tis againſt the way of God, and not according to the Word. 2. This may not only lawfully be done, but this ought to be done, when men ſhall tell fine ſtories, and bring matters of fact, interweave them all along to prove ſuch a way by, and to gain people to errours by ſuch Rhetoricall arguments, he who anſwers ſuch a book, and would preſerve people from errours is bound to diſprove all he can thoſe matters of fact and to ſpeak to thoſe popular arguments, by weakning the truth of thoſe Relations all he knowes, and ſecondly by ſhowing how they are not

argumen-

argumentative nor evincing, ſuppoſing they were true: Tis well known by them who are verſt in the writings of the Proteſtants againſt the Papiſts, how in many of the Controverſies, eſpecially upon the notes of the Church, the Proteſtant writers do, wherein they ſtand on matters of fact, diſprove them by matters of fact and perſonall things, as upon Unity, Holineſſe of life, &c. and I conceive in giving an Anſwer to the *Apologie*, I could not have declined matters of fact without gratifying the cauſe of Independencie, and wronging the truth; I ſuppoſe the excellencie of an Anſwer, as diſtinct from writing Tractates upon ſuch a ſubject, or ſuch a point conſiſts in three things: 1. In not ſpeaking whatſoever a man pleaſes, or bringing in what ever he hath a mind to, but in following the text before him, and in keeping his diſcourſe cloſe to that. 2. In not omitting any materiall paſſages, skipping over the knots paſſing by the hard arguments and falling on the weak, ſnatching here and there, but going thorough all. 3. In labouring to take the Authors mind laid down in the words and ſcope, and in not wreſtling and faſtning another ſenſe upon the Author: All which I propounded to my ſelf in falling upon this Anſwer, and have aimed at in it, and therefore could not omit matters of fact nor perſonall things brought by the *Apologiſts*, eſpecially when all along they are with much Art framed and ſet to gain credit to the Church-way, to prove ſome main principles of their way, and to effect their deſires; For inſtance, how is a ſtory with the *Apologiſts* practiſe upon it, *page* 16, 17, 20, 21. brought to prove the effectuall ſucceſſe of ſubmiſſion and Non-communion, how is their good carriage ſince their return into *England*, and their exile made uſe of to move for a Toleration, how is all that *Narration* of 3, 4, 5. *pag.* of their enquiry into the Word of Chriſt. &c. laid down as ſo many grounds to poſſeſſe the Reader of the truth of the Church way, let the *Apologeticall Narration* be analiz'd, and it will be found there is no point of fact, or perſonall thing in it, but is brought in ſome way or other as a motive or argument for their way, ſo that of neceſſity I could not avoid matter of fact, unleſſe I would betray the truth. *Paul* in *Gal.* 2. 11, 12, 13, 14. openly rebukes *Peter*, becauſe he was to be blamed for his with-drawing and ſeparating himſelf, and becauſe others thereupon were carried away with it, and ſo becauſe the *Apologiſts* do not only with-draw and ſeparate themſelves, but by their *Apologeticall Narration* do even compell others alſo, I cannot but ſpeak.

3. Propoſ. *That 'tis not argumentative againſt the cauſe that falſly called Independencie, nor rationall or conducing to decide any, or this controverſie.*

1. That the *Apologiſts* and the *Anatomizers* way is not falſly but truly cald Independencie, I refer the Reader to theſe pages in this preſent Anſwer, 201 202, 203. Secondly, were all the matters of fact, and the Narration of them argumentative for the *Apologiſts* cauſe to move the Parliament, and to draw the Reader to their way, and is not the diſproving of them argumentative againſt it, if this be not argumentative againſt Independencie, then I am ſure the greateſt part of the *Apologeticall Narration* is nothing materiall for it, and wherefore then was that ſtory of a Miniſter depoſed, and matter of fact upon it *inſerted* in the *Narration* with many other, and ſuppoſing that to be true, that ther's no reaſoning from the quality of the perſon to his cauſe, why then do you ſo much do it in your *Apologie*, taking all occaſions to magniſie your party, and reaſoning from your perſons to your cauſe, from your ſufferings, patience,

patience, &c. but whether there be any ſtrength or no in that, it matters not, tis ſtrongly argumentative in any point to overthrow mens own mediums, & that the *Antapologie* doth; in a word, there's more conſequence then the *Anatomizer* is willing to ſee in that main Aſſertion of the *Apolog.* That one Church may non Communion, but not excommunicate another (as he terms it,) to the miſcarriages of M. *Symſon* and his Church, for might Presbyteriall Government take place, we ſhould not have men ſo eaſily principled into *Anabaptiſme*, nor make a covenant with ſeparation, &c. as in this anſwer in many places is proved. And ſo much for anſwer to M. *Symſons* Book as far as it concerns the *Antapologie*, and may be a block in the way of it. Now beſides this, there is one objection more that hath been in the mouths of ſome Independents, and may inſtilled into many more to hinder the fruit and benefit of this Anſwer, namely (againſt the manner of the Anſwer) that tis an Anſwer full of bitterneſſe, malice, reproaches, railings, and that tis a book written againſt Gods people and good men. For confutation of this objection, I preſent to the Readers apprehenſion theſe following particulars. 1. I have endeavoured for the manner of doing it, that it might be without al juſt exceptions in regard of hard words and bitter ſpeeches, and I can truly ſay I have declined many words & phraſes more proper, & taken other words which in ſome places have rendred the ſtile more rugged to avoid offenſive phraſes, and all along though I often diſprove matters of fact, yet I never uſe ſo harſh a word (to my remembrance) as falſe, much leſſe a lye, but untrue, and this is not ſo, whereas M. *Symſon* in his Pamphlet uſeth falſly and hath the word *lie*. 2. I deſire the conſcientious indifferent Reader to conſider my book is not a Treatiſe or Tractate upon what ſubject I pleaſe to ſpeak of, but an Anſwer, & ſo muſt follow where that leads me, & ſpeak to that. 2. Tis an Anſwer to a book full of matter of fact, and ſtories of the Authors themſelves, ſo that I cannot anſwer without particulariſing, the truth cannot be evidenced to the Reader without coming ſomewhat to particulars. 3. The book contains matter of high praiſe of themſelves and their party (a few inconſiderable perſons comparatively) with many cloſe, indirect, & dangerous inſinuations againſt all the Reformed Churches, which cannot be anſwered particularly without ſome recrimination and charge. 4. There are many particulars in matters of fact, I prove and charge the *Apologiſts* with, and ſome too bad for untruth. 5. I forbeare mentioning the names of many particular perſons which this *Apologie* leads me unto, ſome wholly, others I ſpeak of only under the firſt letter of their names, and for the *Apologiſts* though I often particularly name them, yet in ſome places of my Book, and in ſome groſſer things, I forbear particularizing them too. 2. I meddle not with perſonall things and matters of fact that are heterogenerall, to relate other kind of facts and practiſes which I have heard or known of any the *Apologiſts*, but ſpeak only of ſuch as are proper to the matter occaſioned from their *Apologie*, or the effects and fruits of their Church-way, the *Apologiſts* themſelves give the occaſion to the laying open ſo many particulars, which no other occaſion but ſuch an one as this could have drawn forth from me to have made their names and practiſes thus publike. 7. In many paſſages of this Anſwer I do upon ſeverall occaſions give the *Apologiſts* a juſt teſtimony of that worth for parts and piety which is in them, and ſpeak to them, and of them as Brethren, ſo that let but all theſe things be laid together

conſidering

considering also the Rules of Scripture in such Cases, and that I intended a plain particular down-right Answer, and this Answer will then be accounted candid, moderate, my pen dipped in oyle, and not in vinegar.

3. I can truly speak it, that this present *Antapologia* is so far from being written out of any malice or ill will to the *Apologists*, that I love their persons and value them as brethren, yea some of them above brethren, and besides that love I bear to them as Saints, I have a personal love, and a particular love of friendship to some of them, and I can truly speak it, that I writ not this book nor any part of it out of any personall quarrell, old grudge, or former difference (for to this day there never was any such difference or unkindnesse passed between us) but I have writ it with much sorrow, unwillingnesse and some kind of conflict, in respect of that old personall love and friendship stil strong in me, and had not the truth constrained me, my call to this work been strong, and the cause of God and Reformation much in my eye, I had out of my personall love and respect to some of the *Apologists* given over the work: I can, and am ready to do them any service of love, even the meanest, to wash their feet, and should much rejoyce in their happy union and growing into one body with us in this Reformation. And let not this Answer for the truth and plainnesse of it, be branded for a bitter railing, malitious Answer, but let this also be added to the former premises, that the *Apologists* needed such an Answer as should not flatter nor extoll them, but be free and plain; for the truth is, the *Apologists* have been too much flattered both in their persons and Church-way, and they are undone for want of being plainly dealt with and freely; a candle hath been too much held to them, and I hope this Answer may do much good, even to abate their swellings and confidence, and if many of the Ministers would deal more plainly with them, it would be better both for them and us: I remember a passage of * *Calvin* in an Epistle of his to *Melanchon* concerning *Luther*, which may be applied to the Ministers in reference to the Apologists, *how that if there were that mind in all of us which ought to be, some remedy might be found: And certainly we transmit an unworthy example to posterity, whilst we cast away all liberty rather then we will offend one man, and will not his vehemencie the more rise and grow whilst all bear with him and suffer all things*, &c.

* *Calv. Epist. 63.* Melanct. Verum si in nobis omnibus esset is animus qui esse debet aliquod forsan remedium posset inveniri. Et certè sœdum exemplum transmittimus ad posteros, &c.

4. *Answ.* The writing of Books against the errors and opinions (though of good men) is not speaking against good men, or opposing godlinesse; when the Apologists in their *Apologie* writ against Authoritative Presbyteriall Government, and in page 22. and 24. of their *Apologie do professedly declare they judge the Calvinian Reformed Churches to stand in need of a further Reformation themselves, and that the truth lies in the middle way betwixt Authoritative Presbyteriall government*, &c. did they speak against the Saints and all the godly Ministers in those Churches: when *Paul* withstood *Peter* to the face, because he was to be blamed for his withdrawing and separating, did *Paul* speak against the Apostles of Christ, or speak evill of the Saints? no more do I in writing this Book.

Good Reader, Not to detaine thee longer from entring into the house it self, lay all things together, consider wisely of persons and things, and have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ the Lord of glory, with respect of persons

sons, Accept and take in good part what is now brought to thy hand, as intended for thy spirituall good, for the recovering or preserving thee from errors on the right hand, and let love cover any mistakes or faults thou maist meet with in it. I am but one against five, as also in so many sheets there may well be *Errata*, and all things not so strong, in much writing a mans pen may slip and mistake, and with long waking a watchfull man may wink now and then, consider also this Answer hath been made in the midst of much preaching and many other businesses, having been destitute also of some advantages and helps which at another time I might have had. Thy good acceptance of it, thy profiting by it, and thy earnest prayers to God for me, will encourage me to go on in further writing, to which I have so deeply engaged my self in this Book; and God sparing me life and health, I have taken vp a fixed resolution, never to give over writing till this Church be setled, and these great schismes amongst us healed: But if it should so happen that this *Antapologia* should profit nothing at all many Christians whom I intend it most unto, yet I question not but it will profit some, even as * *Augustine* in his Epistle to *Vincentius* writes, even them who have a care to read it with the fear of God, and without respect of persons. Now the God of truth and peace reveale abundance of truth and peace, and give us truth and peace alwayes by all meanes; He fulfill that promise in *Jeremie*, to his people in this Kingdome, to give them one heart and one way to fear him, for the good of them and their children after them. And so commending thee dear Christian to God, and the word of his grace, and this work of mine to his blessing, I conclude this Epistle as a *Beza* doth his to *Duditius*, farewell, *The Lord keep thee and all thine from all evill, and especially from wonday Devils, which walk about in this place and in these times*, that is, from the errours of Anabaptisme, Brownisme, Antinomianisme, Toleration of Sects and schismes under pretence of liberty of conscience. *Amen.*

* *August.* Vincentio Epist. 48. Nunc vero etiam si tibi nihil prosit non puto nihil ei prosuturam qui eam legere cum Dei timore, & sine personarum acceptione curaverint.

a *Beza* Epist. 1. Andr. Duditio, Dominus te totamque familiam ob omni malo, ac peæsertim a Dæmonis meridiani istic obambulantibus, custodiat.

Yours in Christ,

THO. EDVVARDS.

ANTAPOLOGIA,

OR,

A full ANSWER to a Book Entituled, *An Apologeticall Narration, &c.*

AS the Assertors of truth, through the subtilty and malice of Satan and his Instruments, causing prejudices and mistakes in the minds of many, have been necessitated to write Apologies and make defences (as * the Scriptures, and many Authours both [a] Ancient and [b] Moderne do abundantly testifie,) [c] So many who have maintained errours, have purposely chosen the way of making Apologies, and justifications both of themselves and their opinions, that so *by good words, and faire speeches, they might deceive the hearts of the simple.* Amongst other erroneous spirits who have used this Artifice, the [d] Brownists, and Separatists have not been least; (as is to be seen in some of their Books,) [e] The Independents and Semiseparatists have also taken up this way, as heretofore, so now in this present *Apologeticall Narration*, which I shall examine; and return an answer to, with all candor, fairnesse and respect, both to the Authours, and to the Book, so farre forth as the truth and cause of God may suffer no prejudice. And I shall

* Mat. 11. v. 18, 19. Acts 7. from v. 2. to v. 57. Acts 22. v. 1. to v. 22. Acts cap. 24. Acts cap. 26. a Justin. Mart. 2 *Apolog. pro Christianis.* Tertul. *Apol. Athenag. Apol. vel legatio pro Christianis.* Athanas. *Apol. Arnobii Apolog. Eulog. Apologet. Sanctorum Martyr.* b Zwinglii *Apol. qua ad crimina respondet. Apologet. contra Episcop. constit.* Bucer. *Apolog. contra* Brentium. *Danaei Apolog. pro* Helvet. *Ecclesiis. Apolog. Danaei pro adoratione.* Melanthonis *Apolog.* August. *confess. Apolog. pro* Luthero; *Gualth. Apolog. pro* Zwinglio. Bezæ. *Apolog.* Jevilli. *Apolog. Eccles. Anglicanæ. Mort. Apologet. Cathol.* c Schuvenfeld. *Apolog. contra* Fabium, *Apolog. ad Regem.* Hung. *de mediatione.* Stancati. *Apolog.* Vorstii *Theses. Apolog. Exeg. Apolog. Oratio Apolog.* Bertii *Apolog. Apolog. Remonstrantium. Apolog.* Sebast. Franck. *D. P.* Dirick Philips *Apolog. Apolog. Episcop. Francisc. de St. Cl.* d Apologie of the Brownists. Robins. *Apolog.* Justif. of Separat. e *Apolog.* for Church Covenant. *Apolog.* Reply *Davenport.*

shall speak; first to the Title of the Book, and then to the Book it self.

As for the Title; *An Apologeticall Narration of some Ministers formerly in Exile, now Members of the Assembly of Divines.* It might have been stiler styl'd, *A Panegyricall Oration of some Ministers*: Or, *An Encomiastick*: For all along the discourse, Encomiums and Praises are interwoven, and the Authours take all occasions to extoll, and magnifie both themselves, and their party; as many severall passages testifie.

Narration.] 1. An Accusation rather: for both openly, and more closely there are many dangerous insinuations, (and those oftentimes nothing to the matter in hand) by way of derogation, and depression of all Reformed Churches differing from them: as the Reader may observe in these Pages, (*Page* 4. 11. 19. 22. 24.) 2. *A Narration* should be plaine, cleare, particular, true, perfect; or else it answers not the nature and end of a Narrative: But this Narration will be found dark, doubtfull, generall, untrue, imperfect both in matter of fact and opinion; relating only part, and having a Reserve.

Of some Ministers formerly in Exile.] As this is part of the Title in the Frontispiece to invite the Reader, and take the people; so 'tis often mentioned in the body of the Book, some ten times, *Usque ad Nauseam.* But into what remote, and farre Countrey were you banish't? and what were the Companions of your Exile? Certainly the Reader, into whose hands your Apologeticall Narration comes, and finds, both in the Title and Book so often mention, and such a matter made of Exile and banishment; will think, Alas! good men, into what *Patmos*, *Indies*, or remote wildernesse were they banish'd and forc'd to flie (and will never imagine that these were the exiled Ministers, and this their Exile, who in a time of common danger, and suffering in their own land, went with their wives, children, estates, friends, Knights, Gentlemen and Citizens over into *Holland*, where they lived in safety, plenty, pomp and ease, enjoying their own wayes and freedome: and when the coasts were cleared, came over into *England*, were entertain'd and receiv'd with all respects and applause, and are now *Members of the Assembly of Divines.*

For the Book it self: It consists of three maine parts. 1. The occasion of putting forth this Apologeticall Narration at this time. 2. The Narration it self. 3. The end and aime of it, expresst in the last page of the Book. To each of which parts, and all the particulars, I shall give a direct and positive Answer, by subjoyning the Answer to every passage of the Narration; whereby both being in the Readers eye, he may compare them together; and so judge the better both of the *Apologeticall Narration*, and the *Antapologie.* And I

shall.

shall follow from page to page, and line to line, not omitting any materiall passage, either in matter or manner of expression; and in the matter no particular either of fact or opinion. And the Reader may observe, that I have tied my self to follow close where they lead me, not taking liberty to range or digresse. And this Answer, though it be not written in such strong lines, and *inticing words* as the Narration, yet (by the grace of God) it shall excell it in plainenesse and evidence; and *in the words of truth and soberness*.

As for this *Apologeticall Narration*, though at the first view and reading of it, it carries a face of fairnesse, candidnesse, modesty, ingenuity, especially to such who know not the Authours, neither the History, nor all the opinions, so that the learned Licenser, having lived remote (till of late) was strangely deceived to give such a testimony to it; much more may the people. Yet many learned and godly Ministers who understand their way, and them; and have observed their rise, progresse and proceedings in their Church-way; even such who are their good friends, and tender enough of them, have quite another opinion of their Book; and judge they were much overseen in the framing of it: and that they have much lost themselves by it, and in due time, may hear more of it, as well for the unseasonablenesse of it, as for some things contained in it. My judgement of it is this: That 'tis indeed cunningly, and advantagiously drawn up, for to take, and deceive good people; to gather, increase and confirm their party by it; being full of speceious and glorious pretences, and all plausible seeming compliance and correspondency with the Churches they depart from. And therefore my scope in this Answer, is the indeavouring to undeceive the people, and to wipe off the paint, and to show the Snake under the green grasse, and the foul hand under the white glove: and upon the through and full examination of the Book, I can bring in this just charge against it: *That there is not only fraud in relating part of the story and opinions, and not the whole, holding out the bright side of the cloud, but hiding the black, but there are many manifest untruths in some of their Relations; and that even where God and men are called to witnesse: And I could in most passages of the Apologie, which are matters of fact, write the quite contrary to what they affirm. Besides, that some passages in the Book, crosse and contradict one with others. As also there is a dealing in generals, and in the clouds, with many doubtfull and double expressions like* Apollo's *Oracles: There being few passages of moment either in matter of fact, or opinion, but they are so framed that they may receive a double construction: and that sense which according to Grammar, and ordinary acception they carry, cannot be meant.*

Now this charge and every particular of it, I shall make good in this fol-

lowing diſcourſe. And becauſe they have now by Name in ſo open a manner appeared in print, as to preſent this Apologie to both Houſes of Parliament; I muſt be forc'd (though againſt my mind, and contrary to my purpoſes and reſolutions) to name perſons, times, places, occaſions, with other circumſtances which may evidence the truth of what I write to the Reader, calling God to witneſſe (whom I deſire to feare, and to whom I know I muſt give an account) that I faine nothing, not wittingly miſ-report any thing, no, not in the leaſt circumſtance; neither have I taken up reports lightly; but what ever I affirme or aſſert in this Anſwer, I either had it from their owne mouths, or can ſhow it in their owne Letters, or in other manuſcripts, or in ſome printed Books of men of their way and communion: or elſe have received it from credible perſons, many of them eare-witneſſes, and eye-witneſſes upon the places; All which witneſſes are either learned, godly, judicious Miniſters, or elſe godly Chriſtians, ſome their friends and familiars who have been amongſt them, and converſt with them, both in *Holland* and *England*. And I appeale to many of my Reverend Brethren in the Miniſtery, and to many godly Chriſtians, and to the conſciences of the Authours of this Apologie, upon ſecond thoughts, and to their own followers, and Church-members, whether all along I ſpeak not the truth.

Apolog. *Our eares have been of late ſo filled with a ſudden unexpected noiſe of confuſed Exclamations (though not ſo expreſſely directed againſt us in particular, yet in the interpretation of the moſt reflecting on us) that awakened thereby, we are enforced to anticipate a little that diſcovery of our ſelves which otherwiſe we reſolv'd to have left to time and experience of our wayes and ſpirits, the trueſt diſcoverers, and ſureſt judges of all men and their actions.*

You make the ground and occaſion of ſetting forth this *Apolog. Narration* now, to be your eares of late ſo filled with a ſudden and unexpected noiſe of confuſed Exclamations interpretatively reflecting on you. It will hardly be beleeved by wiſe men, that ſuch men as you ſhould make ſuch an Apologie, and that in ſuch a juncture of time, (the Aſſembly ſitting, and being upon Diſcipline, and you members of it) upon ſo weak and ſleight grounds as *a ſudden and unexpected noiſe of confuſed Exclamations coming to your eares*; which, as they are ſoone raiſed, ſo are they as ſoone gone, and often die of themſelves, and by wiſe men nothing more ſleighted, eſpecially being ſudden and confuſed. If other of your brethren who ſwimme not with the ſtreame of the times, and are not the darlings of the people, ſhould upon every occaſion of their eares fild with a ſudden and unexpected noiſe of confuſed Exclamations; (even when they are expreſſely directed againſt them, and not only in interpretation reflecting on them) write Apologies and make defences,

sentes, they should judge they had little to do, and might have filled City and Countrey with Apologies before now. There are who will not be perswaded, but are induced rather to think there were other motives and grounds of your writing that Apologie at that time: and the rather, because there have been heretofore such noises of confused Exclamations (at least interpretatively reflecting on you) and you pass'd them by. Shall I tell you what is judg'd to have rather enforced you unto this work? Many of the Ministers in the City, not long before drew up a Letter to the Assembly concerning some Church grievances, and in particular, that of gathering of Churches, and drawing away their people: which Letter, as it was not directed in particular against you; so, it reflected in the words and sense upon many others, rather then your selves: which Letter how it was accepted of by the Assembly, and what speeches and motions were upon it, how to remedy and prevent the evils represented, and especially, that of gathering Churches, you better know then I. But soone after, some considerations were put forth by many members of the Assembly, to dissuade from gathering Churches: to which considerations your hands were subscribed. (Upon what reasons you complied in that, and whether you could not well avoid it, without greater prejudice to your cause, you know best.) And now whether this *Apologeticall Narration* was not first hastned to follow upon these considerations to counter-ballance that act of yours against further gathering of Churches, that your cause and way might receive no losse and prejudice, and to satisfie your owne party (many of them greatly exclaiming against you for your hands to those considerations,) and so thinking by this after-game to recover all, I leave to the Reader to judge? 2. Whether also, you well knowing that the Assembly was upon the borders of the maine points in difference and upon coming to debate Presbytery, Ordination, Excommunication, you put not forth this Book to tast and try the spirits of the Assembly and others before hand? 3. Whether also, this was not intended to pre-possesse the peoples minds to lay in prejudice against what the Assembly might determine: and by discovering your selves so before hand, and so publikely ingaging your selves, your party might appeare, and stand the more by you, and with you for a Toleration, the great designe of the men of this way in these times? 4. Lastly, Whether (as much as you durst) this Apologie was not set out just upon the coming in of our Brethren of *Scotland* to our help, to asperse the Government and Reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, and to lessen the esteem of that Kingdome and Church, so much and so deservedly valued by this Kingdome; but looked upon by all the men of the new Church-way, as the great let of their Independent government? These reasons with some other may well be thought

thought to be the ground of your Apologie, but that alledged by you (the sudden and unexpected noyse of confused Exclamations) seemes so far from a Reason, that upon good grounds is doubted whether it can be true that a noyse of confused Exclamations reflecting on you and your wayes could be sudden and unexpected to you: 'Tis strange to me that Exclamations should be to you at that time unexpected, that a few men going in a new by way different from all the Reformed Churches of Christendome, and that with so high a hand as you, and your party have done, should not expect speaking against, and to have their eares filled with outcries and Exclamations (not only confused and interpretative) but distinct, particular and personall. Now as the pretended ground of making this Apologie is taken from you, so what you affirme in the following words (*that you were awakened thereby*) is denied, for you have never beene asleepe since your coming over into *England*, but have beene alwayes watchfull, and intent to the uttermost upon all things which might either further your way, or might hinder it, 'tis we who need something to awaken us, as having beene too much asleep in respect of you. *For whilst the husbandmen have slept, you have both sowed tares*, and reaped a harvest. But I am in hope that your *Apologeticall Narration* and this *Antapologia* together, will awaken both Parliament, Ministers and people, more and more, and open mens eyes to judge of things aright between you and us.

As for the being *enforced to anticipate a little that discovery of your selves which otherwise you resolved to have left to time and experience of your wayes and spirits.*

It appeares manifestly by what I have answered already, both of the weaknesse of that ground (a sudden and unexpected noyse of confused Exclamations) and that in all reason you could not but expect Exclamations, that you were not enforced by that to make this Apologie, and to anticipate the discovery of your selves; being Schollers and understanding men, you may blush to write that such poore things should inforce you against your resolutions, but you were willing and desirous to make such an Anticipation, and so you would make and finde some ground for it, judging a sorry excuse better then none at all, but however, you were not inforced to anticipate, yet I shall tell you this Apologie is an Anticipation with a witnesse, such an Anticipation, both for the unseasonablenesse of it, and for the manner and way of it, as I judge no story nor age can parallell it: That you could not stay a little longer, but in such a time when we need so much the assistance of our Brethren of *Scotland*, and the help of all other Reformed Churches, in the face of the Parliament, Assembly and Kingdome, to put out such a

peece, and to do such an act as this is beyond all example, and I will but represent to your selves and the Reader in a third person, what you have done in making this *Apologeticall Narration*, and then leave you to give sentence. Suppose any other five Members of the Assembly, men, as considerable as your selves every way, both for piety and learning; nay, any twenty Members of the Assembly, had at the same time when you put forth this *Apolog. Narration*, only presented a bare Narration of a Government, different both from the Government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. and from the Presbyteriall, to both Houses of Parliament; and that without resisting their doings and sufferings, or pleading their great merits; or without casting any aspertions on Presbyteriall Government, and the Reformed Churches: and should have peremptorily concluded, as you do in two severall pages, *viz.* 22. and 24. That we do here publikely professe the true Government to stand, and consist in the middle way, betwixt that which is called Episcopall and Presbyteriall: What would you five have thought of this? and how (think you) would this have been taken by the Houses of Parliament, and by the Assembly? Whether would not you five, and some others of you, have cry'd out of this, as a most strange fact, and have strongly moy'd, and aggravated it with all your might, that this affront both to the Parliament and the Assembly, so contrary to the nature and end of this meeting, to pre-judge, and pre-determine a Government, might be censured with a suspention from the Assembly, at least, if not an utter expulsion. [*As for the discovering of your selves by this Apologeticall Narration, which otherwise you should have left to time and experience*: This Book is not only a little discovery of your selves; but a mighty discoverer of your wayes and spirits; and shewes us what we may judge of you, who will put out in publike a peece so fallacious, and untrue as this will appeare to be. But how ever this is the first discovery of your selves in this way, with all your hands subscribed yet we have had a discovery of you for some yeeres past, both in your practises of withdrawing from our publike Assemblies; and in gathering and constituting separated Churches; preaching (also) often on the points concerning your Church-way: as also writing Letters and other Manuscripts about those matters; with other wayes, wherein time and experience of seven or eight yeeres last past, hath been sufficient discoverers, and sure judges of you and your actions.

Apolog. *And now we shall begin to make some appearance into publike light, unto whose view and judgement: should we (that have hitherto lain under so darke a cloud of manifold mis-apprehensions) at first present our selves, but to the Supreme judicatory of this Kingdome, which is and hath been in all times*

time, the most just and severe tribunall for guiltinesse to appear before, much more to dare to appeale unto; and yet withall, the most sacred refuge and Asylum for mistaken and mis-judged innocence.

'Tis strange, that having kept out of publike sight, (as you say) all this three yeeres space, you could not forbeare a little longer from telling fine stories of your selves, and publishing your particular private opinions in print: Especially, considering there was an Assembly of learned Divines (of which you are Members) to declare unto, and with whom you might debate the points in difference: where (also) you know you have all freedome, and just respect. And I must tell you, 'tis the judgement of some of your good friends, that you were much mistaken in the time now, and that you had been far more excusable, if you had put out this *Apologeticall Narration* a yeere or two ago: they interpreting it a violation of the Ordinance, by which you are Members, a high affront, and contempt to the Assembly in pre-judging of it: and such a pre-ingaging of your selves, and party, as you cannot retreat so easily, and with that honour as you might before: As also, a ground of much disturbance and prejudice with the people against what shall be determined by the Assembly. As to that, you say, *we now begin to make some appearance into publike light*: In a sense 'tis true, for all the time that you have been in your Church-way, both in *Holland* and *England*, you have carried things closely; and conceal'd all that you could possibly, your opinions, and practises, with the grounds of them, from your brethren the Ministers, who studied and understood the points: But for tender conscienced, and weak Christians (especially such whom you had any interest in, any wayes, and you had any probability to gaine to you) you have not been wanting, either in Letters of Invitation, or commending some books of the Church-way to them: as also by preaching, and conference to draw them to you. As for that quere, *Unto whose view, and judgement, should we at first present our selves, but to the Supreme judicatory of this Kingdome?* I answer, 1. To any, rather then to the two Houses of Parliament, to present before them such a dark, covert, doubtfull, untrue Relation. 2. In these points of difference about Church-government and worship, you should have presented your selves rather to the Assembly then the Parliament, and if you consult the Ordinance (by vertue of which you are Members) you will find it more conformable to have first propounded your doubts to the Assembly, and if the Assembly could not have satisfied you, then, afterwards you had an allowance of giving in your Dissents, with the grounds of them to both Houses. As to that passage, Your *having hitherto lain under so dark a cloud of manifold mis-apprehensions*; which you make the

ground

ground of first presenting your selves to the Parliament by this Apologie: How does this agree with what you write in page 24? *And we found many of those mists, that had gathered about us, or were rather cast upon our persons, in our absence, began by our presence againe, (and the blessing of God upon us) in a great measure to scatter and vanish without speaking a word for our selves or cause.* And if at your first appearing, so many of those mists, and in so great a measure were vanisht; then surely, by that time you writ this Apologie, all might have been vanisht and scattered: But let me aske you: Whose mis-apprehensions, doe you understand, you lay under, that you present this Apologie to the Parliament, and appeale to them? Doe you meane, you have laine under the darke cloud of the manifold mis-apprehensions of the Parliament? or, of the people of the Kingdome? Certainly, not under the darke cloud of the mis-apprehensions of the Parliament, They are too great, and wise a Body, to be guilty of manifold mis-apprehensions of you: Besides, what Ministers have had the sun of their favour shining upon them, more then your selves? You all have been made Members of the Assembly by them, called to preach before them, upon their publike solemne occasions: and some of you employed in extraordinary services: But if you understand the mis-apprehensions of the body of the people: why doe you present this Apologie to the Parliament? what would you have them doe for you? or, how shall they free you from the darke cloud of manifold mis-apprehensions? I suppose, you doe not expect, that the Houses should set forth a Declaration to cleere you five: neither make an Ordinance, that whosoever mis-apprehends you and your wayes, shall be reputed ill-affected to the publike (though *M. S.* your new great friend sets the brand of malignancie on them who are against you:) Why do you then appeale to them, in respect of mis-apprehensions of the people? or trouble them with so triviall a matter? Do you not know, the people will mis-apprehend persons, and opinions, though plainly and fully laid down? which yours never yet were. And indeed, for any cloud of manifold mis-apprehensions you have hitherto laine under, you may thanke your selves, and never appeale to the Parliament, to be a refuge, and Asylum, for your mistaken, and mis-judged innocence; when as, according to your owne confessions in this Apologie, going in a new, and different way from all the Reformed Churches, you have never yet declared what you hold, and what not: neither have answered the Books written against your way, but have reserved your selves: And yet, whereas you pretend a cloud of manifold mis-apprehensions as the ground in this way, first to present your selves, and to appeale to the Parliament: And 'tis a usuall phrase in the

M. S. A. S. cap. 5. page 83.

mouths of your party to put off arguments with, *that you are mistaken.* I know not for mine owne part, and some others of my brethren, wherein any of you have been mis-apprehended by us; but we have so farre judged of you, as to go by no other rules but your known practises, and your letters, and other manuscripts given, and sent out to your followers; and from what some who are of your owne Churches, and your familiar friends have held out, and pleaded for, as your Principles: together with what we finde in the printed Treatises of them of *New-England*, the *New-England* way being generally taken to be your way: and I heard Master *Bridge* since this Parliament openly affirm it, for himself and others, we agree with them of *New-England*, and are of their Church-way: and Master *Burroughs* hath said so too.

As for the first presenting your selves to the Supreme judicatory of this Kingdome: had it not been, for the reasons given you above, I should not have spoken against it: but seeing you have appeal'd unto them, *unto them yee shall go*, and unto the Parliament *as the most just and severe tribunall for guiltinesse, and withall, the most sacred Refuge and Asylum for innocence*, I appeale too: humbly desiring them (if their great affaires can spare any time) to read this *Antapologie*, with the Reasons I, above two yeeres since, presented to the House of Commons, against your *Helena* of Independencie, and your *Diana* of Toleration. Meane time I cannot but stand and wonder, that you knowing and acknowledging the Houses to be the Supreme Judicatory of the Kingdome, *&c.* how you had the face to present an appeale to them in things untrue: wherein many people can point to and say, passages in the 25. and 26. pages, are not so: *I heard* (saith one) *at such a Church one of the five preach of their Church-way; and I heard* (saith another) *another of them, at such a Church, preach the like.* But why do I wonder? when it will appeare in the following discourse, you have so much in your owne cause at this time lost your selves, and forgot your principles; as that ye do ascribe to *the grace of God, and call God to witnesse your constant forbearance of publishing your opinions by preaching, &c.* which how untrue tis, I shall evince when I come to the 25. and 26. pages, or else let me suffer. And thus much for the occasion, or Preface of this *Apologeticall Narration.*

Apolog. *The most, if not all of us, had ten yeeres since (some more, some lesse) severall setled stations in the Ministery, in places of publike use in the Church, not unknown to many of your selves; but the sinfull evill of those corruptions in the publike worship and government of this Church, which all do now so generally acknowledge and decrie, took hold upon our consciences long before some others of our brethren; And then how impossible it was to*

continue

continue in those times our service and standings, all mens apprehensions will readily acquit us.]

Here begins the Narration wherein we may consider, the Matter of it; and the Manner and way of the carriage and contrivance of it.

The Matter consists, partly of Fact and Practise: and partly of Opinions and Tenents; both which all along in their Narration are interwoven within each other: Their Opinions and Tenents in their Practises, and their Practises in their Opinions. The matter of the Narration consists of three maine parts: First, of their Opinion and Fact before their exile: The second of their Opinions and Practises in their Exile: The third of their carriage and behaviour since their returne into *England*, from their first coming over to the time of putting forth this Apologie. The manner of carrying it all along, is clothing the Narration in such words, phrases, and in such a way (though the Church Principles are laid downe and maintained in it) as to make the Parliament and Kingdome beleeve they differ little or nothing from the Reformed Churches, and from our Church now: And in the things wherein there is some difference; of which they give but three instances (though the differences be many, and so great in their account as to constitute new Churches, and to forsake communion upon them) yet they render them so to the Parliament and Reader, as if the reformed Churches in the differences between them could not but allow their way and practises, though there may be some just question about their owne. Now this *Apologeticall Narration* in all the parts of it both for matter and manner hath many flawes, both of untruths, and of doubtfull, dark expressions, consisting of generals, *&c.* The particulars I shall observe all along, and give animadversions upon them in their proper place.

Now, before I answer to all the particulars contained in this Narration, I propound these two questions to the Apologists to consider of.

Quest. 1. Considering that all of you fell not off from the dark part together, nor upon enquiring into the light part at the same time; that you went not over into *Holland* together, neither lived in *Holland* nor *England* neere each other; neither communicated principles at first to one another; yea, were not some of you for a good time so much as acquainted together, besides that you were not all in the same condition, with other different circumstances; nay, yet more that some of you, as Master *Bridge* and Master *Sympson*, for some yeeres in *Holland* so opposite to one another: How you live could in this Apologie all along, both concerning matters of Fact and Opinion in *England*, *Holland*, and since your returne, make such Narrations and solemne professions both positively and negatively

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(not only every man for himself) but each in the Name of all and for all: Amongst many instances I will name these; 1. How you can in the third page, every man for the other, speake what is there expressed, for suppose Master *Goowin* might *look upon the word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicedly, &c.* yet how can Master *Goodwin* speak this for Mr *Symson* and Master *Bridge* (the condition they were in being different from his) and I wonder how Master *Sympson* and Master *Bridge* can write this as agreeing to them both, knowing so well the contrary, and having in many words and letters to their friends, charged each other with great partiality and self-seeking. 2. How could you in the sixth page, make that profession for one another, that all that conscience of the defilements, &c. *did never work in any of us any other thought, much lesse opinion*, when as you knew not one anothers thoughts and opinions. 3. How you can in the 24, and 25, pages write for one another, *which we have not attempted in the least, we call God and men to witnesse our constant forbearance either to publish our opinions by preaching, &c.* when as you doe not know all that others of you may have done or preached.

Quest. 2 Seeing you doe in this Apologie write so often *we have* so and so, and *we have* not, *we had not, nor any of us*, supposing now some of you to have done, or not to have done, yet if it be found that any of you have done contrary, whether are not the others guilty in this case, and is not the proving such facts against any one or more of you, approving against you all, and a direct confutation of your *Apologie* in those particulars: For instance, suppose Mr *Ny* and Mr *Goodwin* have not for their particulars published their opinions by preaching, nor attempted in the least to make a partie, but yet Master *Bridge*, Mr *Sympson*, Mr *Burroughs*, have; and again, suppose Mr *Goodwin*, Mr *Ny*, Mr *Bridge*, Mr *Borroughs* have not gathered nor added to their Churches multitudes, but Mr *Sympson* only, whether now Mr *Goodwin* and Mr *Ny*, having made professions, protestations in the Name of all, are not faulty and guilty too, & may not be justly charged in the Answer, of untruths in such particulars (though Mr *Bridge* and Mr *Sympson* should only be formally guilty).

The foure first lines of this Section, containing the relation of your *stations in the Ministery*, is granted you: But as to that part of this Section, *The sinfull evill of those corruptions in the publike worship and government of this Church, &c.* I desire to propound this question to you: Whether by the sinfull evill of those corruptions, in the publike worship and government of this Church, you understand the things reputed to be established by law, as the Book of Common Prayer: The Entrance into our Ministery by Ordination of Bishops, and living under the Episcopall government? Or whether, by the sinfull evill, the Innovations in the Government and worship, as bowing to Altars,

Altars, *&c.* which came in of latter dayes? Now if you meane the first, that which usually was called, Old conformity, in opposition to the New: So I deny that all do now generally acknowledge and decrie that as sinfully evill; which appears thus: Because that Remonstrance presented to the House of Commons in the beginning of the Parliament, subscribed by many hundred godly Ministers, conformists, and non-conformists for Reformation in Worship, Doctrine, Government and Discipline, The Government, Worship and Ceremonies were impleaded, in respect of many inconveniences, and evill consequents; but Petitioning against them, as sinfully evill, and absolutely unlawfull was declined: And there are many Parliament men and Ministers, who have a great zeale to the present Reformation in casting out the Hierarchy and ceremonies, who are not yet convinced that all their former practise in the way of old conformity, was sinfull: But as those times were, doe judge they did lawfully continue their standing in their places and in this Church: Much lesse are they satisfied that either Episcopall government, or the Lyturgy were sufficient grounds of forsaking our Publike Assemblies, and erecting new: Amongst a cloud of Learned and godly men, take the testimony of *Gerson Bucerus*, in his learned answer to Docter *Downham*, who for the point of Episcopacie allowes not of schisme in the Church, but vindicates himself and others who keep within the bounds of his opinion from being guilty in that kind. Which Answer to the first part of this Section is not here given by me, in the least to plead for the Hierarchy, Ceremonies or present Liturgy (for I heartily desire their removall) but only to shew the Apologists mistake in asserting that all do now so generally acknowledge and decrie them as sinfully evill. And besides, if you understand these, you cannot be ignorant that Episcopacy, and the old Ceremonies took hold upon the consciences of many others before you: even upon the good old non-conformists you speak of afterwards; Yea, and upon many of your Brethren (of the same time) long before you, as Mr *R.* Mr *H.* Mr *Sl.* Mr *R.* Mr *A.* Mr *P.* *cum alijs*: who yet never ran into your principles of forsaking the publike Assemblies, and gathering Churches: so that many non-conformists leaving the Ceremonies before you, and yet being farre from your Church-way, may counter-ballance what you would gaine with the people by your Insinuations and Narrations, of leaving the Ceremonies long before some of us: But if by *sinfull evill*, you meane the Innovations, of bowing to Altars, *&c.* then those of us who stand for agenerall Reformation, did then acknowledge and decrie them, and they took hold upon our consci-

Dissert. de Guber. Eccl. pag. 620. Quinam hujus criminis rei judicentur me quidem latet, neq; inquirere ad nos attinet. Hoc scio, non convenire in eos, qui intra sententiæ nostræ terminos se continent.

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nances assoon as any of yours. We as much abhorring bowing to Altars, publishing the Declaration for Sports, &c. as you: and witnessing more frequently against them in our Ministry then some of you.

As to those lines in the close of this Section, *The impossibility of continuing your standings in those times*, I confesse there was a great improbability of continuing your publike Ministry in those places of *London, Cambridge*, &c. But whether in some other parts of the Kingdom more remote and obscure you might not have enjoyed your Ministery without an impossibility, I question.

Apolog. *Neither at the first, did we see or look further then the dark part, the evill of those superstitions subjoyned to the worship of God, which have been the common stumbling block and offence of many thousand tender consciences, both in our own and other neighbour Churches, ever since the first Reformation of Religion: which yet was enough to deprive us of the publike exercise of our Ministeries, and together therewith (as the watchfullnesse of those times grew) of our personall participation in some ordinances; and further exposed us either to personall violence and persecution, or unto exile to avoide it: which latter we did the rather chuse, that so the use and exercise of our Ministeries (for which we were borne and live) might not be wholly lost, nor our selves remaine debarred from the enjoyment of the Ordinances of Christ, which we account our birth-right, and best portion in this life.*

For some of you, I judge this to be true, as of Mr *Goodwin*, and Mr *Nye*, knowing something of the story of Mr *Goodwins* first comming to fall off from the Ceremonies, (having seen and perused the Arguments and Reasons that past between him and Mr *Cotton* and some others:) and Mr *Goodwin* assured me, some Moneths after his going off, that he had nothing to say but against the Ceremonies: The Lyturgy offended him not; much lesse dreamed of this Church-way he since fell into: So that is true, at first he saw but the darke part, and that but of the Ceremonies. But for others of you: as namely, Mr *Bridge*, and Mr *Burroughs*, whose hands are subscribed to this *Apologeticall Narration*, (and this passage is spoken in the Name of you all, not some, or most of us, (as in some other passages) but *We*, as relating to all,) they did not at first see the dark part, nor the evill of those superstitions, (namely, the Ceremonies) but were men judged conformable, and practised conformity, till the yeare of Bishop *Wrens* Visitation, and the sending down to *Norwich* his Injunctions: about which time, and upon which occasion, Mr *Bridge*, with other Ministers of the City of *Norwich*, being first suspended, and Mr *Burroughs* afterwards at the Visitation: and times growing so very bad, that there was small hopes of admittance again into their places upon old Conformity, Mr *Bridge* took his degree *per saltum*, from a reputed Conformitant

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in the Church of *England*; and might have continued so till this present Parliament, (for ought I know) to fall suddenly into the Church-way, without long seeing, or looking into the darke part or inquiring into the light part of Church-worship and government, as that short space between his suspension at *Norwich*, and his being received into a Church at *Rotterdam*, and thereupon his fierce Letters to some of his old friends in *Norwich* to come from the Church of *England*, will fully show, by which it is manifest, the sinfull evills of those Ceremonies tooke not hold upon Master *Bridge*, and Master *Burroughs* consciences till suspensions for Bishop *Wrens* Innovations first took hold of them.

To his loving friends Mr. *Henry King*, Mr. *Toft*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Reyner*, Mr. *Mayo*.

'Tis confest the refusing of the Ceremonies in the places you were settled in, was enough to deprive you of the publike exercise of your Ministeries in those places: Especially considering the using of the Ceremonies could not preserve some of you from suspensions; But the refusing of the Innovations, was matter enough to silence you there: But whether the simple ordering of the Ceremonies (especially having left your places, and not taken others) was enough to deprive you of your *personall participation in some Ordinances, and further exposed you, either to personall violence and persecution, or an exile to avoid it*, that I much doubt, and am no way satisfied: Considering, notwithstanding *the watchfulnesse of those times*, that many non-conformists did enjoy, not only some, but a personall participation in all the Ordinances of Worship, (as we use to speak:) namely, Word, Prayer, Sacraments, singing of Psalms: and that in some good degree of peace (so as to be kept out of the High-commission Court, and prisons) and were not put upon a necessity of exile: And however, they resolved to venture some persecution, and violence to doe God some service in their own Country, rather then to leave the Land, and desert the cause of God here, and so give it up wholly, as it were) to the enemy: If all others had done as you five, according to an ordinary way, what had become of this Kingdome? But besides this, I remember some of you, as Master *Goodwin* and Master *Nye*, after yee fell off from the Ceremonies, did for some space, so long as you saw no farther then the darke part, partake in the Ordinances here, and in that of the Lords Supper too, without kneeling: And Master *Nye*'s children were baptized without the signe of the Crosse: And in the sixth page of this Apologie you acknowledge, that some of you, even after you actually were in this way of communion, baptized your children in Parishonall Congregations, which I suppose you would not have done without liberty, from the evill of those superstitions annexed to the worship of God: And further, for some three yeares space after

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Master *Goodwin* and Master *Nye*, saw the darke part, (nay, after some good time they saw the light part,) they stayed in the Kingdome, and were both of them publike enough, and preached sometimes, yet free from personall violence and persecution, and needed not for any personall persecution or violence they were under to have left the Kingdome: And so Master *Burroughs*, what ever his judgement was after his suspension about the darke part and the light part, was free and safe in the Kingdome till for some speeches spoken about the *Scottish* Warre in some company not to be trusted, he for feare thereof fled in all hast to *Rotterdam*. So that these things stumble me at the truth of these particulars, that you needed not have chosen for the bare refusing the Ceremonies, that which you so often terme *Exile* and *Banishment* to enjoy the Ordinances, and to avoide personall violence and persecution. But however this is held out as a fine story to the Reader, yet to me, there are other Reasons seeme more probable (which you thought good in your wisedomes to conceale) which made you chuse that which you so affect to call Exile, namely, that you might enjoy all the Ordinances of Christ, (as you use to speake) whereof some of them the Reformed Churches have not, and that in your Church-way of separated Assemblies (which is imply'd by you in the close of this Section) as also, that you might have some maintenance by the people that went over with you, and still hoped upon the bad times in *England* to draw over more, which according to the good old nonconformists principles you could not doe: As also, that you might secure your selves from all possibility and feare of persecutions, be certainly safe upon the shore whilst your brethen were at sea in the storme.

Apolog. *This being our condition, We were cast upon a further necessity of enquiring into and viewing the light part, the positive part of Church-worship and government; And to that end to search out what were the first Apostolique directions, patterne and examples of those Primitive Churches recorded in the New Testament, as that sacred pillar of fire to guide us. And in this enquire we looke upon the word of Christ as impartially, and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and bloud are like to doe in any juncture of time that may fall out; the places We went to, the condition we were in, the company we went forth with, affording no temptations to by as us any way, but leaving us as freely to be guided by that light and touch Gods Spirit should by the Word vouchsafe our consciences, as the Needle touch't with the Load-stone is in the Compasse: And we had (of all men) the greatest reason to be true to our own consciences in what we should embrace, seeing it was for our consciences that we were deprived at once of what ever was deare to us. We had no new Common-wealths to reare, to frame Church-government unto, whereof any one piece might stand in the others light, to cause the least vari-*

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ation by us from the Primitive patterne; we had no State-ends or Politicall interests to comply with; No Kingdoms in our eye to subdue unto our mould; (which yet will be coexistent with the peace of any forme of Civill Government on earth:) No preferment or worldly respects to shape our opinions for: We had nothing else to doe but simply and singly to consider how to worship God acceptably, and so most according to his word.

This being our condition, must relate to what goes before, which I judge from the litterall and gramaticall sense can be no other but this: That falling from the Ceremonies, which was enough to deprive you of your Ministeries, and the participation of some Ordinances, and further exposed you to violence or exile to avoide it, which latter of exile you chusing rather for the ends specified, that put you upon *a necessity of enquiring into and viewing the light part, the positive part of Church-worship and Government*; Which words seem to carry this sense, that upon your chusing exile, you fell upon enquiring into the light part, and not before, and all the understanding Readers, whom I have spoken with about this passage, take them so: But because you doe not positively say so, and your words may have some evasion; and I would not fasten any thing on you, as said by you in this book that you affirme not; Let me put to you, for the understanding your minds, this question; Whether you take *chusing an Exile*, for, your resolution and purpose when you should see convenient time to leave the Land; (and not for your actuall leaving the Kingdome; and so fell upon enquiring and viewing the positive part of Church-worship and Government; and to that end to search out what were the first Apostolique directions recorded in the New Testament, whilst you were in the Kingdome? Or else, Whether after you were come into *Holland* and so actually were Exiles, then you were cast upon the enquiring into the light part? Now if you meane, these words, in the first sense, and that the Reader must understand them so; which I must tell you, (as it is a very harsh sense, and for a Narration to speak so doubtfully, is not faire,) so all your discourse following upon it in the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. page is vaine, and to no purpose to work that in the minds of the Reader which you drive at: Besides there are many passages in those pages cannot admit of such a sense, but plainly referre to your being in *Holland*; as, those words, *The places we went to, the condition we were in, the company we went forth with; and we had of all men the greatest reason to be true to our own consciences in what we should imbrace, seeing it was for our consciences that we were deprived at once of what ever was deare to us*; with many other like passages: But if you meane the words in the second sense, as the coherence and scope of the discourse going before, and following, carry it; namely, that when you were in Exile, then you began to

search out the positive part of Church-worship and Government; let me propound my reasons, why I do not believe it, but do judge, that most of you (if not all) were upon the light part, and in the Church-way in your judgements before your leaving *England*, and so when you came over needed no great search into it. In the sixth page you speak expressely, that some of you were actually in this way of communion, and after that baptized your children in Parishonall Congregations; which words there expreſt must of necessity referre to *England* before your going over, and cannot be understood whilst you were in *Holland* or since your returne into *England*, unlesse you meane things quite otherwise then you speak. And that you were beyond the dark part, the evill of those superstitions adjoyned to the worship of God, (which have been the common stumbling-block of many thousand tender consciences, which cannot be understood but of the Ceremonies and some corruptions in the Lyturgy) let me besides your own confession in the sixth page, put these questions to your consciences, and in your answer deny them if you can.

1. Whether some of you whilst you were in *England*, did not for a long time, wholly forbeare coming to the Lyturgy, and coming to the Lords Supper at all in our Congregations, because of the prescribed forme of Prayer, and mixt Communion?

2. Whether one of you five told not some friends that he had found out a forme of Church-government as far beyond Master *Cartwrights*, as his was beyond that of Bishops?

3. Whether another of you had not so much declared his judgement against the lawfulnesse of set formes of prayer prescribed, as thereupon, at the request of some great persons of worth, Master *Ball* (now with God) had not a conference and dispute with him at Master *Knightlyes* upon it? And whether the same person reſiding near *Banbury* did not both by preaching and otherwaies vent many things against prescribed formes of prayer, and Communicating in our Assemblies, so that the Countrey thereabouts was much disturbed, and that painfull preacher Master *Wheateley* (now with God) much grieved by the falling off and withdrawing of some?

4. Whether also, one of these Apologists, was not so farre gone in the principles of the new Church-way, as that hee would not be married by Ministers, but deferred marriage till he came into *Holland*, where presently after his coming he was married, (not in the way of the Reformed Churches there,) but by the Magistrates according to the way of the Brownists, as it is laid down in *Robinsons* Apologie?

Apol. Justa & necessaria per Joh. Robinf. *cap. 6. De conjugio per pastores Ecclesiæ celebrato.*

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5. I aske, What some of you, whose Names are to this Apologie, with other Ministers of your way (who are now with God) with some Gentlemen, did at *Aldsundon* in *Buckingham*-shire, the winter and spring before you went into *Holland*, and whether that company which went over with you into *Holland* were not engaged in the Church-way, and principles before you left *England*? And I aske, how long it was, when once you came to *Viana*, where you setled for a time, before you practised your Church-way? Whether you took any long time of searching out what were the first Apostolique directions, before you fell to the practise of it? I deny not but you might adde something to your Church-way after your coming over, and had you stayed there till this time you had added with a witnesse: of which I shall speake more afterwards.

6. If Master *Bridge* carried not the positive part over with him, I aske, whether upon the change of the ayre presently after his coming over, without any great time of searching out what were the first Apostolique directions, he were not admitted a Member in the Church-way, and then chosen one of the Ministers of that Church at *Rotterdam*: And whether Master *Burroughs*, flying over for words spoken, was not quickly admitted into the Church at *Rotterdam*? So that, if these instances be true, here was no great time of enquiring and viewing, after Exile, before you fell to practise; not no great time allotted to *search out what were the first Apostolique directions, patterne and examples of those Primitive Churches recorded in the New Testament*. And to put it past question that you were resolved of your Church-way before you left *England*, (at least Master *Goodwin* and Master *Nye*) I have a Letter by me under Master *Archers* hand the Pastour of their Church, dated *Septemb.* 12, 1637. which was about six weeks after landing, for in another Letter from him to me, he writes, I landed *July* 27.) wherein he writes thus in way of an answer to a passage in a Letter of mine dated *August* 23. concerning his being in the Church-way; *As for your judgement and the work you are about, I heard of it before: and have not so long stood by afflicted, soberly and conscientiously to search out the truth, but have throughly seen into the bottome of it, in such a measure, as I am confident that in the end you will all come to us, and not we to you*: And in the same Letter he speaks of all with him to be of the same judgement, which fully shewes their engagement before they came to *Holland*.

But as to that Dilemma, whether before your going into *Holland*, or whether afterwards you fell upon the positive part of Church-worship & government; it matters not much in reference to that which followes upon it: for even that which is granted by you without any question, namely, your stumbling at the ceremonies; and there upon chusing Exile to avoide the possible hazard of

personall violence and persecution, which put you upon necessity of enquiring into the light part, hath much in it of self to byas, and to draw you to that way of Worship and Government in which you are in, that so you might be provided for, well and comfortably in your Exile with company and maintenance; (which only could be in these principles of your Church-way,) for according to the non conformists principles you could not have drawne any over, nor set up your Church-way: and I should in reason have thought, that had you been free and not cast upon this necessity by chusing Exile, (as my self and others were) in the studying of these points, (though in as much danger from the Prelaticall faction as your selves) you might more impartially and without preingagement have seen the truth: for it is too often seen, that necessity is *ingens telum*, and drawes aside often the judgement and practises of good and wise men: and so might do yours: And therefore you must pardon me if I question whether in your *enquiry into the first Apostolique directions, you looke upon the word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicedly as men made of flesh and blood are like to doe in any juncture of time that may fall out*: I judge, the Reformers in the Reformed Churches of *Geneva*, *Scotland*, &c. upon many reasons, (some whereof are hinted by the Commissioners of Gov. in *Scotland*, the Church of *Scotland*) were like to looke more impartially, pag. 4, 5, 18, 19. and without prejudice upon the word of Christ, then you, they were not forced to fall on their Church-government, by necessity of Exile, but having learned it from the word, some of them suffered Exile for it: and others resolved to hazard the utmost for it, not upon every feare and imagination, forsaking their people and country; but resolving to do the will of God, and to promote his cause in their own country whatever it cost them: And besides the first Reformers, I beleeve there be many in these times, who studying these points have looked more impartially upon Church-Governments and discipline, and been freer from engagements and worldly respects then your selves: and when I weigh the Reasons intimated of your impartiality and free guidance by the Spirit, I am no way satisfied, but they serve all to afford temptations to byas you that way you are in.

As first, For *the Company you went forth with*, both men and women were principled and engaged in the Church-way, and the company some of you went to, being in the open practise of it: And secondly, As for *the Places you went to*, namely, *Holland*, that gives liberty of conscience, and Toleration to sundry Sects, which is an invitation to Errours; So that you had certainty of enjoying your way there: Thirdly, As for *the Condition you were in*, (which is before specified,) so besides one of you was not willing, for some reasons he knowes best, to live wholly upon his wives meanes, and so needed a

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Church to allow him maintenance. Another being in debt: A third forced to fly for feare of severe punishment for words spoken left you not *as freely to be guided by that light and touch Gods Spirit should by the word vouchsafe your consciences as the Needle touches with the Loadstone is in the Compasse*: So that if these circumstances be well considered, with some others of the like nature, the doore of hopes, being shut up here, of your publike Ministery, and the meanes of livelihood to most of you, and without holding and maintaining these principles, there being no way of having Churches, whether it is not more probable, you being *men made of flesh and blood*, (as but you confesse your selves) and having hearts deceitfull as well as other men, may be partiall in this relation of your selves, and the temptations of company, place, condition, drawn you strongly, though you thought it not. But before I passe to other Reasons exprest by you in this page, I cannot passe over the high and great words of your selves, namely, *In this enquiry we looke upon the word of Christ as impartially, and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time that may fall out: the places we went to, the condition we were in, the company we went forth with affording no temptation to byas us any way, but leaving us as freely to be guided by that light and touch Gods Spirit should by the word vouchsafe our consciences, as the Needle toucheth with the Loadstone is in the Compasse.*

Brethren, it had been more humility and modesty to have suspected your selves, and to have preferd in honour, others before your selves, and it had been more agreeable to the councell of the Holy Ghost, and not to have thus extold your selves: Who are you? And what are you? that you should affirme all this of your selves: The Apostles Saint *Paul*, *Peter*, *James* and *John*, would not have spoken these words of themselves: and indeed, some of the words do more suite the condition of Angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, then men on earth subject to like passions as other men: What! your condition, *&c.* afford no temptation, to byas you any way, but leaving you to freely, *&c.* 'Tis such a peece of self-flattery and pride, that hardly the Popes parasites have in the sense of these words exceeded: The great lights of the Church in the first Reformation, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox*, *&c.* would have blusht to have had these lines affirmed of them, much more to have been spoken by themselves: but how meanly soever you may think of the Reformers before you, in comparison of your selves (as some passages in your *Apologie* imply) yet how know you who may come after you to excell you as much in light, as you judge you do the Reformers that went before you, that you speak of the time that may fall out, and is yet to come; can you foresee what men are like to do in aftertimes. As for that expresse reason: *You had of all men the greatest reason to be true to your own consciences in what you should imbrace, seeing it*

was for your consciences that you were deprived at once of what ever was deare to you: In which passage, you intimate your great sufferings above other men, as if you above others had the greatest reason to be true to your consciences, they not suffering like you: I must tell you, I know some men, that for God and his truth suffered more in *England* then all you five, and all your Churches put together did in *Holland*, who yet were against your Church-way. And for this reason, there is little strength or truth in it: and the former part of it is as likely to be true as the latter? Let me sadly put the question to you: How dare you affirme, that for your consciences *you were deprived at once of what ever was deare to you*? Were not your wives, children, estates, friends and lives deare to you? Had you not all these with you? and did you not in the *Netherlands* live in the best places, in much plenty, ease and pompe? But what great deprivation at once is this, of what ever is deare? For men to take their own times, and to goe in Summer time with Knights, Ladyes and Gentlewomen with all necessaries into *Holland*, and there to take choice of all the Land where to reside, and with wives, children, in the midst of friends and acquaintance, free from the feares, and possibilities of vexations of the Spirituall Courts and Prisons, to enjoy all plenty and freedome, as you did? There are many would have been glad, and still would be of such a deprivation at once, as to be so Exiled into *Holland*, to be able to spend, two or three hundred pounds *per annum* there. And I must here minde one of you, in whose Name this reason is brought, that this cannot be affirmed of him, that for his conscience he was deprived at once of what ever was deare to him, seeing he fled into *Holland* for words about State matters. As for those other Reasons following: *You had no new Common-wealths to reare, to frame Church-government unto: you had no State ends, or politicall interests to comply with; no Kingdomes in your eye to subdue unto your mould; no preferment or worldly respects to shape your opinions for.* Suppose all this to be true which you say, (which yet, I for my part, upon good reasons doubt) what will you build upon it? What followes, that therefore you must alone be in the right for Church-government? 'Tis denyed; it no way followes: for many of the poore Anabaptists and Brownists had no new Common-wealths to reare, nor so many State ends, and politicall interests to comply with, as you (as upon good reason, and the experience of you here, all men will grant:) and yet you confesse the Anabaptists and rigid Brownists are out of the way. And besides, had not many of the first Reformers, (as the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland* well observe) as few Common-wealths to reare, as few State-ends, or politicall interests to comply with, as you? Nay, are not some of your greater States-men, and politicians,

Reformat. of Ch. Govern. in *Scotland*, pag. 10.

liticians, and look more to preferment and worldly reſpects, then ever they did? And are there not amongſt us in theſe times, men differing from your Church-way, that eye Common-wealths, State-ends, and politicall intereſts as little as you do? Why then is all this brought in by you? *quorſum hæc?* to what end is all this, with the preceding paſſage, but to inſinuate with the people, as if you alone were the men that looke ſo impartially and unprejudicedly on the word; as if you alone had no State-ends, nor politicall intereſts, nor worldly preferments in your eye, and therefore in ſcearching into the word have found out the right way: but other men, not having ſuffered as you, and having State-ends and worldly preferments to look to, &c. they are out of the way. But, as I ſaid, I doubt concerning all theſe grounds given by you: You had new Common-wealths to reare; to frame Church Government unto, when you firſt fell to theſe principles; namely, the new Common-wealth of *New-England* to frame your Church-government unto, where ſome of you were firſt bound in your thoughts and purpoſes (as you well know,) and I ſhall make more evident in a following page: And therefore the Church-government there might ſtand in your light when you firſt enquired into the Church-way, and might cauſe ſome variation by you from the Primitive patterne, namely, to look too much to that where you thought to have Miniſtery and Subſiſtence: You had alſo, ſome ends, and intereſts, and worldly reſpects to comply with in your going into *Holland*, rather then *New-England* which you firſt intended: and theſe may fitly be termed State-ends, and politicall intereſts, namely, that when ſome great perſons, Lords and others ſhould be forced, through the badneſſe of the times, (as was expected and feared) to ſeek for ſhelter in *Providence*, and *Hiſpaniola*, you might be there ready to remove with them, and be taken along into thoſe Countries, where you hoped to ſet up new Churches, and ſubdue thoſe Countries and people which ſhould come over, into your mould. Or if otherwiſe things in *England* ſhould come to have a great turne, (as they had by this Parliament) then alſo by being in *Holland* rather then *New-England*, you were nigh hand, and your eſtates more at command, quickly to returne to *England*, having this Kingdome in your eye, hoping you might either ſubdue *England* into the way of your Church-government, or elſe gaine a great parry to you in the Kingdome, (which we ſee is unhappily fallen out:) And beſides, all the State-ends and intereſts to come, which you might look upon in your removing to *Holland*, there were worldly reſpects and intereſts for the preſent, to make you goe in the Church-way (as I have before obſerved.) And to all theſe, whereas you make the having no new-Common-wealths, no Kingdomes to eye, to frame Church-government unto; as the ground of falling upon the right-

way;

way; Let it be considered by you and the Reader, that the framing of a Church-government acording to the conjunction of a few godly persons, either in a Plantation, or as strangers in a Common-wealth; and not considering of a Church-government for Nations and Kingdomes, that when Kingdomes and Nations do receive the faith, and the Magistrates are Christians and Orthodox, that there must be a Churches government as for a Nation and Kingdome; is that very thing that deceives you: there being, *alia ratio urbis ac rus*, and so a great difference of governing a family two or three, or of a Towne, and of governing a Nation and Kingdome. But as for that Parenthesis you make, before you end this Section; (*That your Government will be coexistent with the peace of any forme of Civill Government on earth,*) out of the great care you have, least your Church-government should suffer in the thoughts of many; (that it is not consistent with the peace of Civil governments): 'tis so farre from truth, that your Government and Church-way cannot stand with the peace of any forme of Civil government; no not with Democraticall government, much lesse Aristocraticall, or Monarchicall: but should it be but tolerated, much more established, as the government in a Kingdome and Nation, we should quickly finde the contrary with a witnesse. In this Interyall of Church-government we feel (without a formall toleration of it) wofull effects opposite to the peace and good of civill government: And I desire to know from you, how you will prove it, and we shall be assured of it, (for we dare not take your bare word;) seeing that never yet any Kingdome, or Nation entertained your Church-way and government, there being yet no experiment of it, which of the Presbyteriall government hath been in Kingdomes and Common-wealths, this fourscore yeares. And I must tell you that in *New-England* (which yet was farre from being a Kingdome and Nation) when they began to multiply and encrease, this government had like to have ruled them, both in Church and Common-wealth: and had they not enterposed, (and have doe dayly) the power of the Magistrate, and many suitable principles to the Presbyteriall way, they had been ruined before this; and what yet will be the issue (unlesse they fall off more and more from their Independency) a little time will shew, and there are Letters from thence complaining of the confusions of necessity depending on that Government.

Reformat. of Ch. Govern. *pag.* 18. The ground laid for a common ground by the Divines in all the Reformed Churches, that where a whole Nation is converted to the Christian faith, every particular Church is not to be left to it self as if it were alone in a Nation, but that Christ hath provided a way and there is a necessity of a common Nationall government to preserve all the Churches in unity and peace.

Apolog. *We were not engaged by Education or otherwise to any other of the*

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Reformed Churches; And although we confulted with reverence what they held forth both in their writings and practiſe, yet we could not but ſuppoſe that they might not ſee into all things about worſhip and Government, their intentions being moſt ſpent (as alſo of the firſt Reformers in England) upon the Reformation in Doctrine, in which they had a moſt happie hand: And we had with many others obſerved, that although the exerciſe of that Government had been accompanied with more peace, yet the practicall part, the power of godlineſſe and the profeſſion thereof, with difference from carnall and formall Chriſtians, had not been advanced and held forth among them, as in this our Iſland, as themſelves have generally acknowledged. We had the advantage of all that light which the conflicts of our own Divines (the good old Non-conformiſts) had ſtruck forth in their times; And the draughts of Diſcipline which they had drawn; which we found not in all things, the very ſame with the practiſe of the Reformed Churches; And what they had written came much more commended to us, not only becauſe they were our own, but becauſe ſealed with their manifold and bitter ſufferings. We had likewiſe the fatall miſt and rocks and ſhip-wracks of the Separation (whom ye call Browniſts) as Land-markes to forewarne us of thoſe Rocks and ſhelves they ran upon; which alſo did put us upon an inquiry into the principles that might be the cauſes of their diviſions. Laſt of all, We had the recent and latter example of the wayes and practiſes (and thoſe improved to a better Edition and greater refinement, by all the fore-mentioned helps) of theſe multitudes of godly men of our own Nation, almoſt to the number of another Nation, and among them ſome as holy and judicious Divines as this Kingdome hath bred; whoſe ſincerity in their way hath been teſtified before all the world, and will be to all generations to come, by the greateſt undertaking (but that of our father Abraham *out of his own Country, and his ſeed after him) a tranſplanting themſelves many thouſand miles diſtance, and that by ſea, into a wilderneſſe, merely to worſhip God more purely; whither to allure them there could be no other inviſement. And yet we ſtill ſtood as un-engaged ſpectators, free to examine and conſider what truth is to be found in and amongſt all theſe, (all which we looke upon as Reformed Churches) and this nakedly according to the word; We reſolved not to take up our Religion by or from any party, and yet to approve and hold faſt whatſoever is good in any, though never ſo much differing from us, yea oppoſite unto us.]*

It may be if you had been engaged by Education, or otherwiſe to any other of the Reformed Churches, that you had ſeen the order and peace in ſome of the Reformed Churches; and had you converſed with them before you drunk in theſe opinions; you had never been tranſported with them in oppoſition to ſo many moſt worthy Churches: but to what end is this brought in with all thoſe particulars newly mentioned in the foregoing page; *We had, we had,* with that paſſage in the cloſe of the laſt Section; *We had nothing*

thing else to do but simply and singly to consider how to worship God acceptably, and so most according to his Word? unlesse to insinuate, and to cast an aspersion upon all others, *they had so and so; and they were engaged by Education and otherwise*: (a fine Rhetoricall way of calling blemishes upon all others, and freeing your selves) as much as in plaine English to say, *That State-ends, politicall interests, preferments and worldly respects, ingagements by Education, and such like; with the streame of publike interest, might bear all others down, that they should not finde out the truth: but you, alas! good men, so free from having any thing to do in this world, or regarding worldly preferments, or hanging upon great persons, that you must needs finde out the truth.* But as you would bring Education in, and conversing with the Reformed Churches, as the byas to draw many to the Presbyteriall way; So let me tell you, though you were not engaged any way to the Reformed Churches of *Europe*, yet you were many wayes to the Reformed Churches of *New-England*; and to some prime men in *New-England*, by a high admiration of them. One of you (more especially) was so engaged in his high thoughts of one of the Ministers of *New-England*, (by whom also, I am sure he was first taken off the dark part) that he hath said, *there was not such another man in the world againe*: Which Minister, after his going into *New-England*, and falling into the Church-way there, and sending over Letters into *England*, about the New-way; presently after these Letters, began the falling off, and questioning Communion in our Churches: and before these Letters were sent into *England*, and the copies of them communicated to divers; I never by discourse with any of you, nor from others, heard, that you were fallen into the Church-way. As for your consulting with reverence what the Reformed Churches held forth, both in their writings and practice, that could be no long time, (as appears by what I have before proved,) and besides, the short time you took to consult of Church-government and worship after your landing in *Holland*, there are many passages in this *Apologie* shew no great reverence towards them; and if a man should guesse of your reverence to the Churches of *Scotland* and *France* by many of your way, both Ministers and people, what they speak of Presbyteriall government, and of those Churches; he would conclude it were very little: But these good words of the Reformed Churches, are to make way for a back-blow to those Churches, and to get some advantage still to your own way, namely, *that you could not but suppose that they might not see into all things about worship and government, their intentions being most spent upon the Reformation in Doctrine, &c.* And why may not I suppose the same thing of Master *Goodwin*, Master *Nye*, and the rest of you? that you may not see into all things about worship and government; for if they might not, then much more not

you;

you, they excelling you in piety, learning, sufferings, yeers: But suppose the Reformed Churches might not, yet considering that it is now above fourscore yeers since government and worship was purged (as well as Reformation in Doctrine, which you say was so well setled at first) and since, so many questions and controversies having risen about Worship and Government in their Churches and ours; as about *Morelius*, and about the Anabaptists and Brownists; and of late the Independents: and these differences having been debated in Synods and Assemblies, having heard and seen all they could say against Presbyteriall government, and what could be said for themselves; if either they or you, had the truth on your sides; what reason can you give, why they should not see into it upon so much enquiry, study and dispute, the Reformed Churches being more free to entertain truths, and change somewhat in their Discipline then you were in your first entertaining this New-way? For example, the Churches of *France*, living under persecution for their Religion, and the truth of God, if your way had any truth in it, it were all one for matter of persecution to receive yours as their own. As to that passage in this Section, concerning the good old Non-conformists, that you say, *We had the advantage of all that light which their conflicts struck forth in their times, &c.* I answer, a great part of their light, as in Master *Cartwright*, Master *Hilderham*, *&c.* was against the Separatists and their practises (as their writings testifie,) as well as against the Diocesan Bishops and Ceremonies: and it had been happy for you and this Kingdom, that you had made better use of their light, and of their draughts of Discipline; the Reformation had been more easie, and the godly party more united, and the common enemy had never conceived such hopes, and taken such heart as he does from your opinions. And what ever you say, it seems, that a great part of what the good old Non-conformists writ, came not much commended to you, (though your own, and for all their sufferings) because you follow it no better.

As to that passage about the Separation (following the passage of the Non-conformists) It is well, you acknowledge that the Separation had fatall miscarriages and ship-wracks in their way: and it was well you took such notice of them, that you counted them as Land-marks to fore-warn you of those rocks and shelves they ran upon: and that thereupon you did enquire into the principles that might be the causes of their divisions: this is one of the best passages in your Book: (As these are foure passages (among so many bad) that are good and usefull: one of the Parliament: A second of the Assembly of Divines: The third, this of the Separatists: The fourth, a description of many of the Professors and people of this Kingdom:) But it had been better you had made so good a use of this observation and enquiry in Gods visibly witnessing

from Heaven against the Separation, in giving them up to fearfull sins, in inflicting fearfull judgements, and leaving them to strange divisions (which your selves allude to in this passage) and you know was in the stories of *Brown*, *Bolton*, *Barrow*, *Smith*, *Johnsons*, &c. so as to have kept further from their principles; and thereupon to have feared forsaking communion with our Churches, and setting up Separated Assemblies, and agreeing so much with them in most of the fundamentall and essentiall principles and practises, and not to have come so nigh to them against whom God witnessed by so many fatall miscarriages and ship-wracks, as only to refine and qualifie Brownisme, and to spin it of a finer thred then the old Separatists did. But let me here put this Dilemma to you: Seeing the Separatists fatall miscarriages and ship-wracks, did put you upon an enquiry into the principles and causes of their divisions; upon the enquiry either you found out and discovered those principles, or you did not; If you did not discover them, why do you insert these words here? and carry it so to make the Reader believe as if you had: and that you declined the rocks and shelves they ran upon: But if you did discover those principles of the Brownists, which were the causes of their divisions; why do you passe them over in silence? In this *Apologeticall Narration* you make many a parenthesis, and addition to what you are speaking of, nothing so materiall or proper to the point in hand (for example, In that passage immediately following these words, you launch out into the high praises of *New-England* in many lines) as the laying down those principles, which are the causes of the Brownists divisions, would have been: So that I much wonder (if you found them out) that you past them over in silence, for these might have been of great use to the Separatists themselves for the time to come, and of great use to have preserved others from Brownisme who are inclining that way, besides the benefit to your own party by looking upon them to prevent the like fatall miscarriages and ship-wracks in their way: so that I know not how this omission of yours can be excused. Besides, how came it to passe, that you who are the Authours of this *Apologie*, and your Churches made no better an use of all your enquiry and discovery? but in the time you were abroad to fall into the same fatall miscarriages and ship-wracks, namely the same divisions and sins; nay, greater and worse then some of the Separatists Churches did, (as ever I heard.) For proof whereof I have been informed both by word of mouth and Letters from good hands of these following particulars:

In *Holland* there were but two Churches of your way and communion, one of which was at *Rotterdam*, where Master *Bridge* and Master *Simpson* were members, and afterwards Master *Burroughs*: which Church of *Rotterdam* (like the old Separatists at *Amsterdam*) split into two; Master *Simpson* at first, and

some

some others after him renting themselves from Master *Bridges* Church to the great offence thereof: Master *Sympson* setting up a new Church, Master *White* the Merchant and his wife only at first joyning with him: Master *Sympsons* Church being founded by a woman, (Master *Bridge* himselfe heretofore telling me so, and calling Mistresse *White* the Foundresse of that Church.) And after this great rent, and setting up a Church against a Church under Master *Bridges* nose, Master *Ward*, Master *Bridges* colleague, and old friend at *Norwich* was deposed from his Ministery and office, for frivolous matters and some differences by Master *Bridges* Church: And here if I should but relate all the main passages that fell out between these Ministers and their Churches, after this Renting and Deposition within the space of a yeer following, namely the Letters sent into *England*, each for themselves, and against each other; all the stories told of one another; and all the bitternesses and revilings between the Churches of Master *Bridge* and Master *Sympsons*; with the desperate scandals and reproaches cast out (especially upon Master *Bridge*;) the Readers eares would tingle, and I should be too long; especially, because I must touch upon this string againe when I come to that story related in the *Apologie*, page 16. The other Church was first at *Viana*, then at *Amsterdam*; of which Master *Goodwin* and Master *Nye* were Teachers, concerning which Church, if I should but relate all the strange conceits and opinions held, and practised in that Church, (besides some preacht) even before Master *Goodwins* and Master *Nye's* coming back to *England*, with all the differences and divisions that fell out; I should make this answer too large: I will for the present relate these few passages, reserving the rest till I put out a Rejoynder upon their Reply to this Answer. Anointing the sick with oyle was held in that Church of *Amsterdam*, as a standing ordinance for Church members, (for others had no right to that ordinance) as laying on of hands was a standing ordinance for Church Officers: There was a writing amongst them in many hands, proving it to be so, and there were some cases propounded, with what oyle the sick members of the Church were to be anointed, and there was a resolution of the case, namely with Olive oyle. A copie of this writing some Ministers of the Assembly have perused, and one of them hath it amongst his papers in the Country. Mr *Goodwin* did anoint a Gentlewoman (whose name I conceal, when she was sick, & she recovered after (they say.) A Gentleman of note in that Church, (one of those two so much commended in p. 4. of his Book, for wisdom & piety,) did propound in the Church, that singing of Hymns was an ordinance, (which is, that any person of the Congregation exercising their own gifts, should bring an Hymn and sing it in the congregation, all the rest being silent and giving audience;) now upon the propounding of this, another gentleman did oppose it, (as not judging it an ordinance)

to

to whom the former Gentleman replied, that he destroyed in opposing this, what he had built up; whereupon words passing between them, a difference grew between these two Gentlemen; and this second Gentleman was complained of to the Church by the first: and upon hearing the whole business, and all words that past between them, this second Gentleman was censured by the Church, and Master *Nye* charged sin upon him (that was the phrase) in many particulars, and still at the end of every charge Master *Nye* repeated, *This is your sin*: After this censure so solemnly done, the Gentleman censured, brings in Accusations against Master *Nye* in severall Articles, charging him with pride, want of charity, *&c.* in the manner of the censure; And this being brought before the Church, continued in debate about half a yeer, three or foure dayes in a week, and sometimes more, before all the Congregation: divers of the members having callings to follow, they desired to have leave to be absent: Master *Goodwin* oft profest publikely upon these differences, if this were their Church-fellowship he would lay down his Eldership; and nothing was more commonly spoke among the members, then that certainly for matter of Discipline, they were not in the right way, for that there was no way of bringing things to an end: At last, after more then half a yeers debate, not being able to bring these differences to an end, and being to come into *England*, they had their last meeting about it, to agree not to publish it abroad when they came into *England*, hoping that God would give some opportunity when they came into *England* to make an end of it, which whether it be ended yet I doubt much, because of some speeches reported to me spoken by one of these persons concerning the other two: Now if this Church of *Arnhim*, consisting of Ministers, moderate and wise, standing upon their credits and reputations, and of prime Gentlemen, and picked Christians, being in exile, and leaving all for their consciences (as they say) do yet run into such strange conceits, and break among themselves thus, what can be expected of Independent Churches here, that may consist of raw and fiery spirited men, and of the vulgar and all kind of spirits?

But before I leave this passage of yours concerning the Separation, pray let me aske you the reason of this Parenthesis, and to whom you spake it, (whom ye call Brownists?) and why could you not have writ, who are commonly called Brownists? Is it not to both Houses of Parliament to whom this Apologie is presented, and to whom you appeale? your discourse being carried as spoken to them, and does not this phrase of speech carry with it a secret check of the Houses for calling the Separatists Brownists, calling them so, as you would not call them? But who are you, that you may not speak (for so much as concernes this) in the language of both Houses? if both Houses

call

call them Brownists, why may not you five terme them so? but, we may guesse the Reason, Master *Browne* and your principles are so nigh a kin, and you feared lest you might be called so: but let me tell you, though the Reformed Churches may not be called disgracefully *Calvinists*, (as the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland* have well observed (*pag.* 9.) in their late Book) yet the Separatists, and all Sectaries may fitly be termed from the Authours, and so the Separatists, justly called Brownists, because, as he was one of the first Leaders in that way; so he was the first that digested that way into forme and method, and writ so for it: and the first that visibly and openly drew so many out of this Kingdome beyond the Seas: and therefore both Houses of Parliament, and others too, may truly terme those who goe in *Browne*'s way, Brownists.

As for that last passage in this Section, *that last of all, We had the recent and later example of the wayes and practises of those multitudes of godly men of our own Nation*, &c. which (without so many words) you might have said *New-England*; but that on purpose you would take an occasion of extolling them to the Heavens, and so render both your selves and way in them more glorious both to the Parliament and people, into whose hands your Apologie should come. Sure, you might more truly and ingeniously have put them in the first place, and have writ, First of all, *We had the recent and later example of New-England*; which wrought (to my knowledge) with some of you very much: and that the purposes and intentions of some of you, were first for *New-England* (as you may remember some of you told me.) One of you marrying a wife in reference to your going to *New-England*; and how farre he was hindred, or altered by her death, he knowes. Another of you, having sent over goods before, (and in particular) books, where he meant to follow after. (I have a very bad memory if these things be not so). A third, (namely, Master *Sympson*) when he desired his dismission from that Church at *Rotterdam*, he alleadged that as a cause, that he was intended for *New-England*: but I must examine the *Encomium*, made by you here, of *New-England*, and see whether to make it hold, the words must not have the allowance of that figure in Rhetorick called *Hyperbole*: the first part of the praise is, *Multitudes of godly men of our own Nation, almost to the number of another Nation.* Are the godly men in New-England so many in number, that they are almost the number of another Nation, that they do almost make such another Nation as England? then New-England hath more godly persons in it then Old-England; for the multitudes of godly persons amongst us, are not almost so many here, as to make another Nation: but it will be found, that granting, all the men in New-England were godly (which yet you dare not affirme) seeing multitudes live there without the Church,

Church, who are not accounted visible Saints) yet what are they to so many people as are in *England*? reckon up all the persons in *New-England*, good and bad, and list them, and they will be found not to come almost to the number of the Nation that lives in *London*; nay, hardly to come to the twentieth part there: What are they then in *New-England* to this whole Kingdom? and then do but substract all that are not of their Church, and it is evident your affection is better to *New-England* then your Arithmetick, and in this particular, that Proverb of *Almost* must help you: But shall I give you the reason of this stretching here? 'Tis to possesse the Parliament and Kingdom what a great party you have for your Church-way, Almost another Nation in *New-England*, and Almost another Nation of your way in old *England*, which may serve to ballance your opposite party of Presbytery in *England* and *Scotland*; and therefore the Parliament shall do well to take notice of your Numbers, to grant you a Toleration (at least) of your Church-way, lest you being such multitudes should, &c. I could tell stories, what some of your way have spoken, if they might not have their way; but I shall spare them now. The second part of your praise of *New-England* is, *And among them some as holy and judicious Divines as this Kingdome hath bred*: That there are holy and good Divines among them, whom I truly love and honour, I acknowledge: but I judge this too transcendent a phrase, and more then befits the words of sobernesse. *Some as holy and judicious as this Kingdome had bred*: It had been an expression high enough to say, as holy and judicious Divines as any you now know in this Kingdome; but to say as this Kingdome hath bred; how know you that? and how can you affirm it? You were not acquainted with many who lived before (being all young men, to speak of) so that there might bee (before your times) men more judicious and holy: and if we may judge by the works of some men, and by their lives written, and by the reports from good hands of the godly, ancient Ministers, there were men, more judicious and learned, then any now in *New-England*, as *Whitaker*, *Reynolds*, *Brightman*, and others; and more holy, as Master *Greenham*, Master *Barnes*, old Master *Dod*, &c. But for the holy and judicious Divines of *New-England* there are not above three or foure at most were ever accounted so eminent, (I might say but two) and yet the present age hath Divines in *England* to compare with them, both for learning, judiciousnesse and piety: so as you needed not to have gone back to the ages past. Take the prime man of them all in *New-England*, and yet, he is not to be accounted as judicious and learned as ever any this Kingdome bred: Doctor *Whitakers* never held any opinion that was accounted erroneous; nor any private peculiar opinion but what was commonly

Melch. Adam. vita Whitak. pag. 177.

monly held in the Church of God (as it is reported in his life) but the moſt eminent Miniſter in *New-England* (though he be an excellent and worthy man) hath had his errours; and I referre you for proof to his Diſcourſe about clearing the doctrine of Reprobation (which is in ſome of your hands) with his being deceived (for a time) in the buſineſſe of Maſter *Wheelwright*, and Miſtreſſe *Hutchinſon*, and ſome of thoſe opinions about Sanctification & evidencing Juſtification: and to ſome other manuſcripts and printed things about the Church-way, where there are many things of wit and fancie more then of deep judgement.

The third part of your praiſe, riſes ſo high, as 'tis hardly to be paralel'd: *The ſincerity of them of New-England in their way teſtifi'd before all the world, and will be to all generations to come by the greateſt undertaking (but that of our Father* Abraham *out of his own Countrey, and his ſeed after him) a tranſplanting themſelves many thouſand miles diſtance, and that by ſea into a wilderneſſe, &c.* Certainly ſome Independents then muſt write their Chronicle, or elſe their ſincerity will not be ſo teſtified to all the world, neither will they be ſo famous to all ſucceeding generations: It is well, that in this high praiſe of them who went to *New-England*, there was ſome exception, and that *Abraham* their Father was excepted: (how ever in the inſtance you preſently give of their undertaking) you ſecretly prefer the men of *New-England* before *Abraham*: for *Abraham* went by land, and not by ſea; and not many thouſand miles diſtance, nor into a wilderneſſe: But I am not ſatisfied in the truth of this undertaking for *New-England*, but am of the mind, there both have been and are, greater undertakings, (beſides *Abraham* and his ſeed after him) namely, that of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, carrying the people out of *Egypt*, and leading them through the wilderneſſe to *Canaan*; of *Nehemiah* and *Zerubbabel* in building of the Temple: beſides, the preſent undertaking of the Parliament for Reformation in Church-government and worſhip, againſt the Papiſts, Prelats and Malignants, (which you had ſeen when you writ this *Apologie*) was farre greater, and is teſtified before the world, and will be to all generations to come, farre beyond that of *New-England*. 'Tis ſtrange to me, you ſhould thus forget your ſelves to make the undertaking of *New-England* to be the greateſt that ever was in the world but that of *Abrahams*: But thus partiall, we ſee, good men are apt to be for their owne party; and even ſtark blind in their own cauſe. And as I am no whit ſatisfied in this third particular of your praiſe of *New-England*, ſo not in the truth of the thing that you affirme they went to *New-England* for, namely, meerly to worſhip God more purely, whether to allure them there could be no other inviteme[illegible]. For that which was firſt held out and moſt ſpoken of in the beginning of this

Plantation in *New-England*, was the hopes of converting the poore *Indians*; There were some Ministers of note and others who dealt first in that busines, and were prime actors in it, that propounded that, and really intended it, as Master *White* of *Dorchester*, Master *Humphreys*, (and I am forgetfull) if I have not read some things printed to that purpose,) As for the worshipping God more purely, (if your words could beare that sense, or you understood them of being freed of the Ceremonies, and of Episcopall government,) that was some part of the designe and aime, (though not meerly that,) but if by worshipping God more purely be meant, the worshipping God in the Church-way, and the Church-government pleaded for in this *Apologie*, it was not in the thoughts of them who were the first movers in it, or of the Ministers who were sent over in the beginning, (as is apparant by a Letter of Master *Cottons* sent to Master *Skelton* a Minister) upon his falling into the Church-way after he came over, wherein Master *Cotton* writes to him, that he went from *England* of another judgement, and tels him how this came about, namely, from them of *New-Plymouth*, who were Master *Robinsons* people; and further unto many who went over to *New-England*, after the first and second yeere, there were other invitements, then meerly worshipping God more purely, some of them concluding peremptorily this Kingdome would be destroyed, and there would be a hiding place, as also the great commendations of the Countrey and Land for subsistence, (many being low in their estates here, (led many into a fools paradize, who finding all things so contrary to the high reports given out, and their expectations, have had leisure enough to repent since; And some of you, (who to my knowledge intended for *New-England*) yet when you came to understand better, what a hard Countrey it was, would not be of the number of them, whose sincerity should be testified before all the world, and unto all generations to come, by going to *New-England* to worship God more purely, when to allure you thither, there was no other invitement. And now after all this large Narration of your falling off from the dark part, and of your inquiring into the light part, and the story of your impartiall looking upon the word of Christ, and of your consulting with Reformed Churches, and looking upon the old Non-conformists, and observing the Separatists, together with the examples of *New-England*, you plainly come in the close of this Section, to declare that, for which all this was written, namely, to possesse the Reader of your freedome and un-ingagement, notwithstanding all this, to take that way, or every thing in each way, that was truth, whereas you would insinuate, that other men who differ from you, were not so free, nor un-engaged; But how likely this is, and how un-ingaged and free you were, I desire the Reader to remember

ber what presumption (if not proofs,) I have already brought to prove the contrary.

As for those two Parentheses brought in of the way of *New-England*, namely, *those improved to a better Edition, and greater refinement by all the forementioned helps*, and that, *all which we look upon as reformed Churches*: To the first of these, I say, 1. It is a high confidence, and presumption, to judge the wayes and practises of a few in *New-England*, to be better, and more refined, then of all the Reformed Churches in Christendome. 2. What ever the Edition, and refinement of *New-England* is, they made little use of all the forementioned helps, named by you to attain unto it, few of them consulted with reverence the Reformed Churches, *&c.* But the maine ground of their improvement, to this new Edition and great refinement, (as you terme it,) was their consultation with them of *New-Plymouth*, as appeares both by Master *Cottons* Letter, and by other relations. To the second, I can judge no other reason of inserting it here, nor of calling the way of *New-England*, in that first Parentheses, a better Edition, and greater refinement, then of any of the Reformed Churches, but only, that we may understand, in what sense you took that part of the Covenant, to be brought to agreement with the best Reformed Churches, that you meant and accounted *New-England*, the best Reformed Churches, and so satisfied your consciences in taking that branch of the Covenant; whereas we look upon the Reformed Churches, those of *France*, *Scotland*, *Holland*, &c. who are known to us, by their confessions, and I never knew till this *Apologie* came forth, that ever the Churches of *New-England* were stiled the Reformed Churches, as the Brownists and Separatists never yet were, unto whom yet the Parentheses relates as well as to any of the other Churches.

Mr *Rathb.* Narration of Ch. courses, p. 4. The rest of the Churches in *New-England*, came at first to them in *Plymouth* to crave their direction in Ch. courses and made them their patterne.

Apolog. *And for our own Congregations, We meane of* England *(in which through the grace of Christ we were converted, and exercised our Ministeries long, to the conversion of many others) we have this sincere profession to make before God and all the world, that all that conscience of the defilements, we conceived to cleave to the true worship of God in them, or of the unwarranted power in Church-Governours exercised therein, did never work in any of us any other thought, much lesse opinion, but that multitudes of the Assemblies and Parochiall Congregations thereof, were the true Churches and body of Christ, and the Ministery thereof a true Ministery. Much lesse did it ever enter into our hearts to judge them Antichristian; we saw and cannot but see, that by the same reason the Churches abroad in* Scotland, Holland, *&c. (though more reformed) yet for their*

mixture must be in like manner judged no Churches also, which to imagine or conceive, is, and hath ever been an horrour to our thoughts. Yea, we always have professed, and that in these times when the Church of England *were the most, either actually overspread with defilements, or in the greatest danger thereof, and when our selves had least, yea no hopes of ever so much as visiting our own Land againe in peace and safety to our persons; that we both did and would hold a Communion with them as the Churches of Christ. And besides this profession, as a reall testimony thereof some of us after we actually were in this way of communion, baptized our children in Parishionall Congregations, and (as we had occasion) did offer to receive into the Communion of the Lords Supper with us some (whom we knew godly that came to visit us when we were in our exile) upon that relation, followship and commembership they held in their Parish-Churches in* England, *they professing themselves to be members thereof, and belonging thereunto. What wee have since our returne publikely and avowedly made declarations of to this purpose, many hundreds can witnesse, and some of our brethren in their printed books candidly do testifie for us.*]

In this Section you come to declare your judgements concerning the Congregations of *England* and the Ministery of them, wherein you apologize for your selves in regard of misapprehensions you might lye under, in respect of your judgements concerning them; For what good you speak of them now, and for owning them as your own, in which you were converted, and in which you converted many others, I thank you; But for the sincere profession you make before God and all the world, that all that conscience of the defilements you conceived to cleave to the true worship of God in them, or of the unwarranted power in Church Governours exercised therein, did never work in any of you, any other thought, much lesse opinion, but that multitudes of the Assemblies and Parochiall Congregations thereof were the true Churches and body of Christ, and the Ministery thereof a true Ministery: much lesse did ever enter into your hearts to judge them Antichristian. You must pardon me, if I believe not this profession, Nay, I must tell some of you, that if Letters and other Manuscripts which go out under some of your names, and are in my hands, be yours, (as I have great reason to believe they are,) I shall prove this sincere profession of yours, to be insincere, and shall evidence the contrary to what you professe before God and the world, namely, that the corruptions, which did cleave to our worship, and the unwarranted power did not only work thoughts and opinions in you, that our Churches and Ministers were not true, but that you expresst so much and acted in the vertue of it, nay, even to judge them Antichristian; There are some passages in one Letter (more especially amongst others,) written by Master *Bridge*, to his loving friends

friends in *Norwich*, Mr *Henry King*, Mr *Toft*, Mr *Smith*, Mr *Rayner*, Mr *Mapp*, the ſubſtance of which Letter to them is, 'Not to be content with 'the ordinance of hearing, but to look out after the plat-forme of Government, left 'by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, by Elders, Paſtors, Teachers, Deacons and Wid-'dowes, and to conſider, that every Church hath the power within it ſelf, and is not 'ſubject to one Officer, or to another Congregation, but to the whole body, and to 'that, whereof the member is a part, (And then Maſter *Bridge* falls upon Epiſ-copall government, under which theſe friends of his lived, as Antichriſtian,) 'and that their Epiſcopall government under which they lived, was Papall and Ro-'miſh, and then brings in theſe words; And will you then ſubmit unto it, what be-'comes of them that do worſhip the beaſt, and what of them that receive his marke, 'Rev.13.8. Rev.14.9,10. It is a worſhipping, it is a receiving a marke to practiſe 'any Canon, conſtitution or order that is framed or injoyned by that government: 'What? you have no Elders, Paſtors, &c. What? you ſit, ſtand, kneel at the com-'mand of that government; And in the Poſtſcript of this Letter, he adds theſe 'words; paying a Pepper-corne may acknowledge a Land-lord, and the ſtanding 'up at the Creed may acknowledge the government. Now I demand of Maſter *Bridge* and the other Apologiſts, what multitudes of the Aſſemblies and Paro-chiall Congregations were there in *England*, that were wholly exempt from that Government? or whether there was any that did refuſe wholly, all the Orders injoyned by that Government? and if ſo, whether then in Maſter *Bridges* opinion, and in his Letters all our Congregations and Miniſ-ters, were not Antichriſtian, in worſhipping the Beaſt, and receiving his mark, let all the world, and his own conſcience judge? And for further proof, un-to one of Maſter *Bridges* Letters were ſeven Queſtions annexed and pro-pounded, concerning the Miniſtery, worſhip, and conſtitution of the Church Aſſemblies in *England*, the uſuall queſtions the Browniſts make: I have alſo the copie of a Letter written from Maſter *Sympſon* to a man of note in *Lon-don* (whoſe name out of reſpect to him, I conceale) the ſubſtance of which Letter is, to have him conſider, 'Whether he may live without all the Ordinan-'ces, if they be any where to be had, or live in danger of daily defilement, and there 'is one thing, which together with theſe, he deſires him to think upon, namely, what 'that ſtate and condition is, wherein we ſhould injoy the Ordinances, we ſhould call 'nothing the meanes of ſalvation or Ordinances, but what God hath appointed to his 'Church. A Church is Chriſts body, it conſiſts of holy members, in shew at leaſt, 'joyned together to Chriſt, as to a Head, and as there is a bond whereby we are in-'viſibly joyned, ſo is there a bond to him viſibly. Ceremonies are nothing in re-'gard of this, they make things accidentally evill, according as this is, things are, or 'are not ordinances, and meanes of ſalvation. Baptiſme is no baptiſme, unleſſe it

'be administred by a Minister: A Minister is no Minister, unlesse called by the 'Church, and so I might speak of other things. By all which it will appeare that Master *Sympson* had thoughts, and doubts, and would have others have such thoughts too, that we have neither Churches, nor Ordinances, nor Ministers, according to his definition of a Church, and to the matter contained in his Letter, and in the close of his Letter though he writes, *'I meddle not with judg-'ing of these things with you, but propound you a rule, or way to judge of things by; 'I dare not say, your Congregations are not Churches, but desire you to look that 'they be so, for your own peace,* yet it is evident by what he saies in his Letter, that he accounts, neither our Churches, nor our Ministers true, and would stumble him in these things to whom he wrote. I have a Manuscript enticuled, a Treatise of the Church, going under the name of one of these Apologists, and a godly Minister from whose hands I had it, assured it me it was his. In which Treatise there is an answer to this question; *'But suppose Saints live in 'a Nation, wherein there is some kind of a Church constituted already, may they 'gather themselves into a Church?* The Answer is as followes. 1. *If you suppose 'that there are Churches in England, yet such as never were truly members of 'any of them, are free to begin, and gather themselves into a Church, and to be of 'the best Institution they can, this liberty we under the Gospel have, which the 'Jewes had not.* 2. *Although they are Churches, yet we are not to continue in 'them, and not remove from them.* 1. *In that they are Churches defective in 'some Ordinances, as namely, Prophecying, mutuall admonition, excommunication. '2. They are Churches defiled in our judgements, in which communicating, wee 'cannot but be defiled now though they be Churches, as a leprous man was a man, 'yet being defiled, we cannot communicate with them, and so in regard of our use, 'now no Churches;* and in the same page it is added, *we may be kept from 'joyning with the true Church, and yet not withdraw from these, as no Churches, 'but as no Churches of use to us.* Now I appeale to the Reader, what he can judge of your profession in the sixt page, and of these passages in your letters and manuscripts; and as some of your hands are contrary to this profession, so your works are contrary to it; in forsaking the Communion of our Churches and Ministerie, and in drawing others away, and in writing to many to come to you, and in setting up Churches: and pray deale ingeniously once in your Reply; seeing you ever held, and do now much more; that our Assemblies are true Churches, and our Ministers true Ministers; how you can satisfie your own consciences and us, from any Scripture ground, either of precept or example to seperate from us? I am assured you cannot produce any ground, and that all Scripture instances, whether in examples or precepts will never come up to your practise and case: But (Brethren) why will you in a Narra-

tion

tion that should be plaine (that all who runne may reade it) deale thus fallaciously, amuse the Reader with your profession of our Churches and Ministerie, in such generalls, and never declare what you hold particularly of them? Few Readers unlesse some, who have throughly studied your principles and distinctions, being never the wiser for your profession: I must therefore of necessity English your words, and tell the meaning of all this: That is, neither the Church or Churches of *England*; nor the Ministery thereof, as they are in their frame and constitution, according to the Lawes; and as they are in their visible order, are true Churches or true Ministery: But now, so farre as in many of our Parochiall Congregations, there is something common with what you hold about a Church and Ministery: so farre true, and not Antichristian. As for example, you hold, that in some Congregations we have many visible Saints, and in some Parishes, Ministers chosen by the people, which Ministers preach and pray according to your way; but for what we else practise in our making of Ministers, in our formes of prescribed prayers, &c. So no true Churches nor Ministery. And that this is your meaning will appeare by what followes. 1. Letters and speeches of some of your way, who write not so warily (as you) show so much. Master *Batchelour* a member of your Church-way, in printed letters of his, dated from *Rotterdam*, September the fourteenth, 1641. both to Ministers here in *London*, and to Citizens, speaks thus in reference to you; *"And whereas it is believed, they are friends to separation, this I can assure you, that they deny not the Churches in England, such as "M.* Calamies *and M.* Goodwins *in Coleman-street, to be true Churches.* And why Master *Goodwins*, and Master *Calamies*; but because they were chosen by the Congregations, and there are many visible Saints in those Congregations; and so others of your way, having been reasoned with how according to your principles, That there is no Nationall visible Church under the new Testament, no visible Church but a particular Congregation, and that the Essence of Ministers calling is Election by the people, and that the forme of a Church is a particular Covenant, with other things of this Nature: And therefore considering the Church of *England* is Nationall, and hath no such Covenant, nor such a way of Ministery, how they could hold we had true Churches and true Ministers: Their Answer hath been, *You have Implicit Churches, and Implicite Ministers.* But if you will say, you understand your words in this Section (not as Master *Batchelour* nor as others of your way) but plainly, as Divines usually take Churches and Ministery; then I desire you to reconcile together all your definitions and descriptions of true visible Churches, and true Ministers, with our Church and Ministery of *England*. And for further satisfaction in this point, I desire you in your reply to this Answer,

candidly

candidly, and clearly to expresse your selves, when you fell to your Church-way, and were to be taken for Ministers in those Churches; whether you held your selves, or were look'd upon by your Churches, as true Ministers by vertue of your calling in *England*? Or whether (rather) you were not lookt upon only as gifted men, and did not some of you (at least) renounce and disclaime your calling in *England*, and were made Ministers a new by the Church consisting only of people, or lay-Elders at the best, without Ministers? Master *Williams* in his Answer to Mr *Cotton's* letter, openly justifies, they held and practised so in *New-England*: Now your principles agreeing so with theirs, and some Stories related to me of some of you, makes me doubt the same of you. As for that reason you give why you never held our Churches no true Churches, namely, your seeing, that if you had accounted our Churches no true Churches; that by the same reason, the Churches abroad in *Scotland*, *Holland*, &c. yet for their mixture must in like manner be judged no Churches also; I answer, 'tis no concluding Argument: Master *Robinson* (who was quick-sighted, and lived in *Holland* long) and seeing their mixture, yet acknowledges those Churches true, but denies ours to be true upon other grounds besides the mixture, and 'tis evident, your reason is insufficient, for if your description of a visible Church were only upon difference in the point of mixture, and your grounds of separation only upon mixt communion, then your Reason had some weight in it; but you know your exceptions were many against our Churches, which lay not against the Reformed Churches: but it is strange to me, if you were so good at consequences, that you saw and could not but see when there was no necessity of seeing; you could not see the necessary consequence of your principles about a Church and Ministery; nay not see, even your contradictions. For let a man but take your own Positions and Assertions concerning a true visible Church, and the true calling of Ministers, and lay together your quarrelling with us, and leaving us upon those grounds, because we have no such Churches and Ministers; and yet to affirme, that multitudes of our Parochiall Churches are true Churches. And certainly, however you (who are Schollars) might be such good Logicians to make such distinctions, to salve all (as you conceited) yet your people could not, but they from your principles and positions about Church, Ministery, Worship and Government, have judged us no true Churches, nor true Ministers; but have wondred at this sincere profession of yours before God and the

Mr *Cottons* Letter examined and answered, pag. 44. Mr *Cotton* himself and other most eminent Ministers in *New England* had freely confessed that notwithstanding their former profession of Ministery in old *England*, yet in *New-England* till they received a particular calling from a particular Church, that they were but private Christians. *Apolog. Robin. pag.* 10, 11. *&c.* 12. *de Eccl. Ang.*

the world concerning our Churches and ministers, saying they understood you otherwise, and they were much deceived if you held not otherwise at first (though now you expresse your selves after this manner.) And can hardly beleeve had you made alwayes and frequently such professions of our Churches and Ministers, and of keeping communion with them, as the Churches of Christ, that ever so many had fallen off to your way. But thus 'tis in all the way of errours, men by fits will expresse things as other men do who are Orthodox (but yet in a sence of their owne) to avoid exceptions, and that they may be thought to hold as others do, thereby the more to draw and worke some men off to their way, when yet in the common sense and understanding of the points they hold otherwise. As the *Socinians* say they hold Christ God, and call him so, but in a sence of their owne, and yet deny it in the Orthodox sense: So *Pelagians* and *Arminians* will extoll the grace of God, and that a man can do nothing without it, and yet in that sence wherein the controversie is, they set up free-will above the grace of God: And so *Antinomians* will say, they do not deny the Law of God: and yet in the sense controverted, are flat against it. And so the Papists will say, they hold and look to be saved by Christ, as well as any Protestant (though it's well known there is a great difference between them in the point of Justification:) so you, and many of your way, in a sense of your own, give us good words, and say, we have true Churches and true Ministery; and yet in the sense of the controversie, you teach flat contrary; as doth appear both by printed Tractates, and by manuscripts and many practises.)

As to that Profession in this Section, *That in the times, when the Churches of* England, *were most either actually over-spread with defilements; or in the greatest danger thereof, that we both did, and would hold communion with them as the Churches of Christ*: I answer, what do I hear words, when I see deeds so contrary? How can I beleeve this profession, that ye would hold communion with the Churches of *England*, as the Churches of Christ, under their greatest defilements, when as you have never held communion with any of them in the time of their greatest Reformation and purity? In this three yeers last, since your coming over, wherein we have been so free from pollution in worship, and since that in so many Churches in *London*, there hath been the totall laying aside of prescribed formes of Prayer; and that great care, to keep away both ignorant and prophane persons: Which of you five have received the Lords Supper in any of these true Churches and bodies of Christ? I never could learn, that any of you five, nor any of the members of your Churches have communicated with us. I can tell you of the adding to your Church Assemblies, great numbers since, and of your receiving the Lords Sup-

per at night in private houses, and how some of you, who have not Churches here in *London*, go to separated Churches to partake in the Lords Supper. But (Brethren) why do you deale thus and write thus, to make men beleeve as if you held great communion with our Churches now, who would have held it with them in such bad times? I desire you to speak plain English, and not to speak after this manner (as you do too often in this Apologie) and to interpret to us in your Reply to this Answer, what you meane by *both Did and Would hold communion with the Churches of* England *as the Churches of Christ?* I know no communion you did hold, or do with us now (though so reformed.) And if you do and will, what means that wall of partition between us and your new constituted Churches? As for the hearing of Sermons sometimes in our Churches, and preaching in our Congregations, I doubt whether you hold that a keeping communion with our Churches and Ministers; but rather, preach as gifted men; and hear ours as gifted men, and however (* if Master *Robinson* and some of your way may be beleeved) they hold hearing of the Word no Act of Communion, nor no proper nor peculiar thing of the Church: and that you are of the same judgement, I have great reason both from your principles and practice to think so. As for that reall testimony (besides your profession) *That some of us after we actually were in this way of communion, baptized our children in Parishionall Congregations*; whereby you would inferre, you held a communion with our Congregations as the Churches of Christ: I answer, this is no reall testimony thereof, because it cannot be understood but in the sense before opened, of Churches and Ministery: and besides, if Master *Sympson* were one of this some, who baptized his children in Parishionall Congregations, tis so inconsistent with what he writ in the Letter before quoted of the Church and Baptisme; that I know not how to reconcile these together: And the truth is, many of your practises are oft-times so in-coherent with some of your principles of Church-fellowship, (as for instance) Pastors are necessary Officers in your Churches, and yet according to your practises your Churches are many yeers without them, that a man cannot tell when he hath a reall testimony what you hold, or how long you have held it. And as for that other reall testimony, as you had occasion, offering to receive, some of ours whom ye knew godly that came to visit you when you were in exile, upon that relation, fellowship and commembership they held in their Parish-Churches in *England*. 1. Tis no reall testimony, because you offred it, but do not say you performed it. 2. If you had

* *Robinf. Apol. cap. 12 p. 78. Propria, inquam, & peculiaria in quibus verbi auditionem simpliciter non annumero 1 utpote in qua non intus docentem & discentem communio spiritualis, sive Eccl. sive personalis, nisi ex unione prævia Ecclesiastica aut personali.*

had actually performed it, it is no such reall testimony of the truth of our Churches and Ministery, but of your own rather, into the communion whereof they were received. 3. Still, their admission was founded upon that distinction of Implicit Churches, as appears by your following words. For you would admit them upon such terms, as you would gaine a principle of your own by them; get more by it, then communion with you was worth, namely, that such who were known to bee godly, might not come to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, unlesse they were members of some particular Congregation, and so in their partaking with you, they must yeeld, that grand Brownisticall principle, the foundation of other errours among the Separatists, namely, that Sacraments belong not to visible beleevers but as they are members of some particular Congregation. As also you put them upon a practise and order, never required by example or precept in the Scriptures. And let me intreat you, in your Reply you give to this Answer, to give me a Scripture, to prove that all men who come to the Lords Supper must professe their membership, & their retaining to such a particular Congregation. I professe my self of another judgement, and call the glove to any of you five, or to you all; That it is lawfull for the Ministers of Christ to receive such whom they know to be godly, to the Lords Supper, though they be not members of a particular Church, and to receive those who are members without any professing themselves to be so: Suppose some godly Merchants or Marriners, who all their dayes travell, and never stay long in any one place, yet in all places where they come, desire to joyne in the ordinances, ought not such to be received? The standing rule of coming to the Lords Supper will be found to be faith and godlinesse shown forth, rather then the formality of membership: But deale ingeniously, do you tell us here, all that you required of the godly, that came to visit you, or do you tell us only a part? which question, I the rather propound, because, as you do relate short in other parts of this *Narration*, (as in the eighth page,) so I finde Master *Batchelour* (one of you,) writing from *Rotterdam* of your Churches, that they will not keep back the Sacrament from any of the godly of such Churches in *England*, as Master *Goodwins* and Master *Calamies* are, (alwayes provided that their own Pastors do consent unto it,) Now the godly who are gone into *Holland*, and especially to *New-England*, not finding any such word in Scripture of bringing a ticket from their Ministers, and so coming into those Countries without it, may be long kept from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, till they either go into *England* and fetch it, or till they send

Robins. Catechis. *Quest.* May all the faithfull partake in the Sacraments? *Ans.* No, except they be also added to some particular Congregation.

send for it over, and have a returne back of the consent of their owne Pastors, (which may be, was the reason, that though you offered to receive into the Communion of the Lords Supper some godly that came to visit you in your Exile, yet for want of bringing their Pastors consent unto it, returned into *England* without partaking in the Lords Supper with you,) Which (by the way) will be a good warning for all that henceforth go over into *Holland* or *New-England*, to carry their Ministers consents over with them, least otherwise they be not admitted to the Lords Supper; and that you do not deale plainly with us, in this relation of admitting the godly in the Parish Churches of *England*, into the Communion of the Lords Supper with you, but there is some reservation and evasion; I much doubt, because the known godly in the Parish-Church of *Coleman-street* (which amongst Parish-Churches, is one of your true Churches in *England*, cannot be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper by vertue of their relation of membership they hold in the Parish-Church never since their Pastor fell into your Church-way; As for your publike and avowed declarations to this purpose, which many hundreds can witnesse, I never heard of any of them in any publike meetings; though I have been in many, nor in any Sermons you have preacht, though I have heard of many things you preacht (which you are like to hear of in this Answer.) But if I may speak what I have heard, there hath been a Narrative promised from you, of what you hold, which many Ministers also can witnesse,) but was never performed by you till this day; As to that, in the close of this Section, that some of your Brethren, in their printed Books do candidly testifie for you, It is but one of them, not some, unlesse you take in Master *Herles* Imprimatur to your *Apologie*, who I doubt not before this time, by what he hath heard from some of his Brethren of the Assembly, and seen in that book entituled *Reformation of Church-government in Scotland*, with the contents of the Letters from some Churches beyond the seas, besides the light this Answer will give, will see easily, how by your courting of him, he was surprized; And it is no wonder that Master *Herle*, Master *Channell*, with some other men of worth (having lived somewhat remote, and having not been much conversant with you and your distinctions,) might be at first mistaken with such good words, and solemn professions.

Apolog. *And as we always held this respect unto our own Churches in this Kingdome, so we received and were entertained with the like from those reformed Churches abroad, among whom we were cast to live, we both mutually gave and received the right hand of fellowship, which they on their parts abundantly manifested by the very same characters and testimonies of difference which are proper to their own orthodox Churches, and whereby they use to distinguish them from all those Sects*

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(which they tollerate, but not owne) and all the assemblies of them (which yet now we are here some would needs ranke us with) granting to some of us their owne Churches, or publike places for worship, to assemble in, where themselves met, for the worship of God, at differing houres the same day. As likewise the priviledge of ringing a publike Bell to call unto our meetings: Which we mention, because it is among st them made the great signall of difference betweene their owne allowed Churches, and all other assemblies, unto whom it is strictly prohibited and forbidden, as Guiciardine *hath long since observed: And others of us found such acceptance with them, that in testimony thereof they allowed a full and liberall maintenance annually for our Ministers, yea and constantly also wine for our Communions. And then we againe on our parts, not only held all brotherly correspondencie with their Divines, but received also some of the members of their Churches (who desired to communicate with us) unto communion in the Sacraments and other ordinances, by vertue of their relation of membership retained in those Churches.*

In the last Section, I proved, both by Letters and many other presumptions, you always held not that respect to the Church of *England* you seeme to professe in that Section; if now at last, you be growne more sober and wise, upon reviewing your principles, I am glad of it, *non est pudor ad meliora transire*; For this Section, your being received and entertained with the like respect from those Reformed Churches abroad, and your mutually giving and receiving the right hand of fellowship. If I may beleeve reports and Letters (and those not light, but from ministers and good people;) I have been by word of mouth told, and I have in writing from thence, grounds to question the truth of this Narration. A godly Minister out of *Holland* in answer to some questions sent about the truth of your Apologie, writes thus to this present Section: 'And here I cannot but adde this; that where as the Apologeticall 'Narration mentions these things as an argument of the incouragements Letters out of 'they had in these parts, and their good concurrence with the Churches Holland.
'here, it hath been affirmed to me from very good testimony, that however the Ma-'gistrates at Rotterdam *for politick ends, as to gather company to them, which is* 'for the profit of the place; yet the Churches there (I mean the Dutch) never appro-'ved of the course held there by these Brethren and their people. It hath been affirmed to me that many of the *Dutch* Ministers were much offended at Master *Bridges* being ordained Minister by the Lay-elders without any preaching Presbyters: And what ever right-hand fellowship, and brotherly correspondency you might hold with the *Dutch* Divines; some of the English Ministers of the Reformed Churches there, have complained of your great strangenesse and distance towards them; and, instance hath been given me particularly, (by a great friend of yours now in *London*) that when some of you have come

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to *Amsterdam*, you never would go to Master *Herrings*, (a good old Non conformist) but have gone to Master *Canne's* (the Separatist) and to his Church. And besides, this report, told me some yeers ago, from a friend of your owne, that I might not only beleeve reports, I sent over into *Holland* some questions about the truth of some things related by you in this *Apologie*, the contrary whereunto, I had been informed of before: and among other questions, upon this Section, I propounded, what communion and converse passed between the godly English Ministers and their Congregations, and you? or whether, when you came to *Amsterdam*, you went not rather to the Brownists meetings, and conversed with Master *Canne* more then the Reformed Ministers: Unto which question, I had this answer in so many words sent: 'To this I can say, 'that since my coming hither, we have had no such communion with them, as that 'we have prevailed with any of them to preach in our Congregation, though I am 'sure, some of them have been earnestly importuned thereunto, indeed Master Bridge 'seemed once to be willing, but did not. And for their going to the Brownists, and 'conversing with Master Canne more then us; that is undeniable, What you may 'of this read, in Epistle to the Rejoynder in defence of Master Bradshaw, against 'Master Canne, is most true and certain.

But suffer me a little to examine the particulars wherein you would prove the mutuall giving and receiving the right-hand of fellowship: For the first; That you were received and entertained with the like respect that you gave to our Churches in *England*, I easily beleeve (which was but little.) And if the Reformed Churches looke upon you, and you on them, as you did upon our Churches in this Kingdome; you have no cause to boast here of mutuall giving and receiving the right-hand of fellowship, remembring what I answered to your last Section concerning your profession of our Churches. As to that proof you bring, of their giving you the right-hand of fellowship, in their abundantly manifesting it by the very same characters and testimonies of difference, which are proper to their owne orthodox Churches, and whereby they use to distinguish them from all those Sects, &c. I answer, this was not to all of your Churches, for Master *Sympson* (which yet is your way, and is here owned by you all in this *Apologie*) had not a Church, or publike place for worship granted to him, nor the priviledge of ringing a Bell to call to meetings, but was looked upon as a Sect, (as Master *Bridge* told me.) And in a Letter out of *Holland* from a good hand to that question: Whether Master *Sympsons* Church had the allowance of ringing a publike Bell to call to their meeting, and whether any maintenance allowed by the States: 'Tis answered. 'To this, 'I shall say, I never yet heard by any, that his Church had any such allowance of 'Bell, or maintenance by the State. Now if Master *Sympsons* Church was

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looke upon as a Sect, (collerated, but not owned) wanting that great signall of difference between allowed Churches and all other Assemblies, namely, the priviledge of ringing a publike Bell to call unto their meetings: and the rest of your Churches being just of the same way and constitution with his, (as appears by this *Apologie*) then, the ranking of you, now you are here, with Sects, is no great injury to you: Neither will the granting to your two other Churches, publike places to worship, with maintenance for some of your Ministers, &c. free you from being looke upon as Sects by the Churches and Ministers there: but I must tell you, these priviledges came from other grounds, as namely, one of your Churches consisting of many persons of great quality, and going at first to *a priviledged place; the other Church having formerly been a Church in the way of Reformed Churches there, and so had then the allowance of a publike place. (The first sensible declining of that Church to the new-way, being by Master *Peters*, (before he went to *New-England*,) Now Master *Bridge* coming to that Church, and bringing with him and after him wealthy Citizens and Clothiers, by which the Magistrates at *Rotterdam* knowing well their advantage; No wonder though they permitted that Church their publike place, and gave to their Ministers a full and liberall maintenance, yea and Wine for their Communions, and yet should gain well by it. As for your holding all brotherly correspondency with their Divines (which I suppose you mean the *Dutch*) not knowing any of them, I can say nothing against it; but only 'tis a great presumption that holding so little brotherly correspondencie with our own *English* Divines there, you held not much with the *Dutch*: But grant that which you say to be true, that you held all faire correspondencie with them that might be upon other grounds, for your own advantage and benefit many wayes, you being strangers and they in their own Countrey, as also to see if you could gaine any of their Ministers to your Church-way. And as for your receiving some of their members unto communion in the Sacraments, that might be but to strengthen your owne way, and to advance that Church-principle of receiving them by vertue of their relation of membership. And here I desire to put two questions to you. 1. Whether in receiving some members of the *Dutch* Churches (who

* *Vlaina* a place where murtherers and other grand offenders flying, have protection, and therefore no wonder if *Independents* might have their liberty there.

De Ecclesijs reformatis quid aliud dicam? eas pro veris & genuinis, &c. Ecclesijs habemus: cum eisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, & quantum in nobis est colimus: conciones publicas ab illarum pastoribus habitas ex nostris, qui natant linguam Belgicam frequentant. Sacram cœnam earum membris, siqua forte nostro cœtui interfint nobis cognita participamus.

desired

desired to communicate with you) you put them upon professing themselves to be members of their Churches, and belonging thereunto (as you did the English who came to you.) 2. Though you received some of them unto communion in your Churches, whether any of you ever received the Lords Supper in any of their Churches? or in any of the *English* Churches in *Holland* who were not of your way and communion? But grant all you say in all your profession of your respect and holding communion with the *Dutch* Churches, whereby you would free your selves from the imputation of Separation, and make the Reader beleeve the Brownists and you had no affinitie: I answer, You say no more, nor hardly so much as Master *Robinson* writ in his Apologie twentie five yeares since of those Reformed Churches, page 10, 11.

Apol. *Now for the way and practise of our Churches we give this brief and generall account. Our publike worship was made up of no other parts then the worship of all other Reformed Churches doth consist of. As publike and solemne prayers for Kings and all in authority, &c. the reading the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; Exposition of them a occasion was; and constant preaching of the word; the administration of the two Sacraments, Baptisme to Infants, and the Lords Supper; singing of Psalms; collections for the poore, &c. every Lords day. For Officers and publike Rulers in the Church, we set up no other but the very same which the Reformed Churches judge necessary and sufficient, and as Instituted by Christ and his Apostles for the perpetuall government of his Church, that is, Pastors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders, (with us not lay, but Ecclesiastique persons separated to that service) and Deacons. And for the matter of government & censures of the Church, we had nor executed any other but what al acknowledg, namely, Admonitiõ & Excõmunication upon obstinacy and impenitency, (which we blesse God we never exercised.) This later we judged should be put in executiõ, for no other kind of sins then may evidently be presumed to be perpetrated against the parties known light; as whether it be a sin in maners & conversation, such as is cõmitted against the light of nature, or the cõ non received practises of Christianity, professed in al the Churches of Christ; or if in opinions, then such, as are likewise contrary to the received principles of Christianity, and the power of godlines, professed by the party himself, and universally acknowledged in al the rest of the Churches, and no other sins to be the subject of that dreadful sentence.*]

In this Section you give us a Narration of the way and practises of your Churches. Wherein, in the beginning you tell the Reader, We give this brief and generall account; But how much better had it been, and more proper to have given a full and particular account here, then in your other parts, about *New-England*, and the Reformed Churches in *Holland*; A full and particular account of the way and practises of your Churches, had answered more the nature of such a Narration, and would have satisfied all men: but why did you in the most materiall part give such a brief and generall account? Know-

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ing, that under brevities and generalities, there lies much mistake and deceit. And let me tell you, this brief and generall account, falls short of your way and practises: and either you had bad memories in your writing this *Apologie*, about the parts of your worship, Officers and censures, to forget some of them; or else you have on purpose conceal'd them; holding out the bright side of the cloud (namely, what the Reformed Churches practise) but hiding the black: which is so much the more justly to be excepted against, because as you set down the words, and give the account, they are not true; but I can say, (and make it good too) your publike worship was made up of other parts then the worship of all other Reformed Churches, namely, of Prophesying in your Congregations: and for Officers and publike Rulers in the Church, you set up others then the Reformed Churches, namely Widdowes: And for the matter of Government and censures of the Church, you have executed others, besides Admonition and Excommunication, namely, deposition of a Minister, and confession of offences publikely, and orderings of solemne Fasting for Humiliation upon confession of sins, as your selves relate the story in the sixteenth page and one and twentieth: besides, you hold other censures of the Church: the Sentence of Non-communion with Declaration, and Protestation to all other Churches; as appeares by your own relation, page 17, 18, 19. For publike worship that you exercised prophesying, I could name unto you, who of the members have prophecied at *Arnheim*, and upon what subject, but I spare them; I could tell you, how Master *Bridge* and Master *Simpson* fell out upon the point of Prophecie, (as Master *Bridge* informed me) and of the exercising of Prophesie in Master *Simpsons* Church at *Rotterdam*, as well as at *Arnheim*; I could out of manuscripts produce how arguments are framed to draw away people from our Churches upon this ground, as being defective in some ordinances, namely, Prophesying. And besides prophesying, I propound it to you, whether some of you have not held out some other publike worship, then the Reformed Churches hold, namely, Hymns and annointing the sick members of the Church with oyle; Also, whether a little before your coming over into *England*, some members of the Church of *Arnheim*, did not propound the holy kisse, or the kisse of love, to be practised by Church-members; Nay, whether by some persons in that Church, was it not begun to be used and practised; And in this enumeration of the parts of publike worship, I desire to know why you put in *&c.* and what is meant by *&c.* for that implies more parts then you enumerate. And we know *&c.* is a dangerous and suspicious phrase ever since the late Canons and Oath, for under that *&c.* may be meant Prophesying, and Hymnes, and Annointing with oyle, and the Kisse of love, and many other parts which the Reformed Churches practise not, and so your publike

worship may be made up of many other parts then the worship of all other Reformed Churches, and that there is great cause to speak thus, and doubt, appeares, because I know not, nor cannot reckon up any other part of publike worship used every Lords day in the Reformed Churches then the particulars mentioned by you without an *&c.* and therefore what you meane by under *&c.* unlesse Propheſying, Hymns and such like, I cannot imagine. For Officers and publike Rulers in the Church, whether you actually had made any Church-Widdowes in any of your Churches, (they being matter of charge, which also, as for admitting of poore members, some of you are very carefull of,) I cannot affirme, but that you hold Widdowes to be Officers of the Church, and part of the Church-government, that I can prove by these following instances. 1. By a passage in a Letter from Mr *Bridge*, to some at *Norwitch*, by Master *Davenports* profession of faith printed, and by Master *Cottons* Catechisme. And how much you have of late reasoned, for such a Church Officer in the Assembly, you know; And let the Reader observe that by the way, that we must judge of your wayes rather by what you hold, then alwayes by your practise, for one of your Churches hath been some yeares without a Pastor the first and chiefe Officer, and yet you set up such, much more may you be without Widdowes for some yeares, and yet hold them, and as you have Widdowes a Church-Officer, which the Reformed Churches hold not, so in one of your Churches you have had Teaching Elders, besides a Pastor, and Teacher; And whatever the Reformed Churches hold of their Officers as necessary and sufficient for the perpetuall government of the Church, Yet your practise is not, as if you held them necessary and perpetuall; for one of your Churches, hath been many yeares without a Pastor, the prime Officer and Ruler in the Church, and other of your Churches without other Officers, which if they were so necessary, and as instituted by Christ and his Apostles, for the perpetuall Government of the Church; how you can be without these Officers, and namely, the most necessarie and principall, for many yeares together, I cannot see; And I desire you in your Reply, to satisfie us; and to shew Reason, how you can depart from that which is confest by all Churches, and your selves to, for the maintaining an opinion of the essentiall difference, between Pastors and Teachers in each Congregation, so much denied by many learned and godly Divines. As for that *Parenthesis* about Ruling Elders (with us not Lay but Ecclesiastick persons separated to that service) I desire to know, wherein and how, your Ruling Elders, are more Ecclesiastick persons, and separated to that service, then the Ruling Elders of the Reformed Churches: The Reformed Churches, account their Ruling Elders Ecclesiasticall persons, and they are separated to

Letter to Mr *King*, Mr *Toft*, &c.

that

that work, by Election and Ordination; and whereas you make a distinction in the manner of your expressions, between Ruling Elders separated to that service and Deacons. I aske you, whether Deacons are not Ecclesiasticall persons, and separated to that service by Election and Ordination, as well as Elders? what, are yours more, and in what further degree, are they Ecclesiasticall then the Ruling Elders of the Reformed Churches, or your own Deacons? do you meane them so Ecclesiasticall and separated to that service of ruling, so as the Pastors and Teachers are to their office, that is, seperated from all civill Imployments and callings to the work of wholly attending the flock, and of being as Ministers and preachers of the word; now if you understand it in this sense that all your Ruling Elders do give over their civill callings and worldly imployments, and are so separated, as Pastors and Teachers are, it being the duty of the Ruling Elder to teach publikely as well as governe, then I have nothing to say against your Ruling Elders. And this puts an end to all that controversie about Lay-Elders, only let mee aske you two questions. 1. What specificall difference you will give me between those Officers, the Ministers of the word, and Ruling-Elders? Seeing both rule and preach, and what becomes then of those texts, 1 *Cor.* 12. *Rom.* 12. which are held out to prove Church Government by, and amongst other particulars are brought to prove, that besides those who teach and preach the word, the Scripture reckons up Governours and Rulers. 2. Whether did your Gentlemen and Merchants, who were made Ruling-Elders among you, upon their office give over their merchandizing, and their way of living as Gentlemen, wholly applying themselves to their studies, and to all gravitie in apparell, haire, &c? But now, if your Ruling-Elders, do follow, their merchandising and trade, and are not as Pastors and Teachers, how can you affirm of them, to be more Ecclesiastick persons then your Deacons, or then the Elders of other Reformed Churches? And as for the matter of Government, and censures of the Church, you did forget here, what you were to write in the fixteenth page, and in the one and twentieth. How one of your Churches unhappily deposed one of their Ministers, which censure was neither admonition nor excommunication upon obstinacie and impenitence. But the particulars under this head, I have spoken to, upon this Section alreadie. But as I have clearly and unanswerably shewed your publike worship was made up of other parts, then the worship of all other Reformed Churches, and have instanced wherein you practised and held over and above, so let me from this Narration of your wayes and practises here, question, whether you practised all parts of worship, and censures, which other Churches practise. For I feare, your Narration, as it is all along subtilly carried (for though you say, your worship was made of

no other parts, nor you executed no other censures, but what all acknowledge) so it may be here; and you may conceale, what you have omitted, was your worship then, and is it still made up of all these: Do all of you hold, or did you practise in *Holland*, the reading the Scriptures of the old and new Testament, as an Ordinance without any Exposition, and do you practise the singing of Psalms, according to the way of Reformed Churches. I have been told that at *Rotterdam*, the Scriptures were never read barely without Exposition, and there are many of your Church-way and communion, that will neither joyne in hearing the Scriptures read, nor in singing of Psalmes in our Congregations. Which makes me doubt some of you may be of the same opinion and practise. And did all of you whilest you were in *Holland*, and do you now administer Baptisme to all the Infants of your Churches, or are there not some Infants unbaptized amongst you; and for the matter of censures, though you say you had, nor executed no other, but what all acknowledge, yet you do not affirme, you executed all censures which other Reformed Churches acknowledge, and so you conceale your judgement of things. Yet in this Narration of your way and practises, you carrie your discourse so in this Section, as if your practise and way were all the same with the Reformed Churches, but had you dealt ingeniously, in the Narration of the way, and practises of your Churches, you should have laid down particularly as wherein, and how farre you agreed with the Reformed Churches, so also wherein you departed from them: namely, you should have shewed in what you practised more then they do, and wherein you practise short of them, and in the things you practised with them, yet how you differ'd in the manner of them; but to returne to that of censures the Reformed Churches practise, besides admonition, and before they come to excommunication, that which is called by Divines, *Abstentio à sacra cœna*, but you do but so, but conceale this; But brethren, why should you not practise this, especially considering how according to your principles; the Church is to receive the Lords Supper, every Lords day: For suppose some members commit a great sinne on the Saturday, which though it come to be known to the Ministers or Elders, and some of the people; either there may be no time to call the Church to admonish the parties, or if there be for admonition, yet not time sufficient for the parties to testifie Repentance, and yet, the persons may not be judged obstinate and impenitent as to be excommunicated, and supposing the persons offending will come now to the Lords table in the interim, what will you do in this case? And further, the Reformed Churches enjoyne the censure of open confession of sinnes, and practise Deposition of officers from their places, which may justly arise upon some cases, and yet thinke it not fit to proceed unto excommunication, (as your selves practised in Master *Wards*

case) never proceeding to give him up to Satan. Now how lame and defective this your Narration, about the government of the Church; only relating two things, you practised in common with the Reformed Churches, and as concealing other things you practised not with them; so wholly passing over in silence here all your different way of practising from all Churches, in the way of Ordination, in the way of constituting Churches, and admission into them, and in the way of governing by the votes and suffrages of the whole bodie, in the way of celebration the Lords Supper, receiving it at night, &c. in the Sacrament of Baptisme, with many other particulars; which whether it be fairly done, I appeale to the Reader, who is by this much deceived, thinking upon the reading of this Narration, that you had agreed in all things; of Worship, Officers, Censures with the Reformed Churches: But to returne to that censure of Excommunication, which you insist upon, laying down your judgement about the subject of that censure. As for your blessing God, you never exercised it, there may be but little ground for such a blessing, but cause rather to be humbled for not using it seasonably: I judge had you practised it, some revilings, evill speakings between many members of your Churches, with some other offences might have been prevented: But there is no such great cause to set out your selves, by the non-exercise of Excommunication, if what you hold for the matter of it be considered, wherein I suppose you differ from all Orthodox Reformed Churches, and do open a wide gappe to much licentiousnesse both in doctrine and practise: What do you judge? Is it not to be put into Execution for no other kinde of sinner, then may evidently be presumed to be perpetrated against the parties known light, &c. What if men practise Polygamie, prophane the Lords day, by using it as they do any other day, what if they do hold, and accordingly will have practised communitie of goods amongst beleevers, what if they maintaine that Christians ought not to be Magistrates, all which are not condemned in all the Churches of Christ (especially if some Churches may be taken for Churches of Christ, and we have reason to beleeve by your manner of expressions you include such) neither are perpetrated against the parties known light, but rather are practised upon new light, and as new truths; and let me intreat you in your Reply to explaine your meaning, what you meane by all the Churches of Christ, and by the common received practises of Christianitie; and what by the pinciples of Christianitie universally acknowledged in all the rest of the Churches, whether by Churches you understand the Churches only of your own communion and waie, or the Churches which are commonly called the Reformed? Or else all Churches whatsoever that are so called, as, besides your own and the Reformed, the Churches of the Anabaptists, Antinomians, and such like? And I have

reason

reason to propound this question, your words being so doubtfull: Now if your words and phrases be taken in the first sence, of your Churches only, that those sinnes and no other are to be the subject of Excommunication, then great sinnes and errours according to the Scripture, and judged so by Orthodox Churches, many escape Excommunication; and on the contrary, many matters, which according to Scripture, are neither sinnes nor errours, but only your Churches hold them so, may have that dreadfull sentence passe upon them: but if you meane it in the largest sence, for all kind of Churches, and for the received principles and practises of Christianity professed and acknowledged in all the Churches, then more sinnes and errours so judged by the word, by most Churches, and by your owne Churches too, will not be acknowledged for such in all the rest of the Churches, and so shall escape that censure: But if you should say, you meane only the Reformed Churches commonly so called, and the common received practises professed by them, it cannot be so understood (as is evident) by your owne expressions in this passage about Excommunication.

So that here are strange unsafe rules to go by in the censure of Excommunication, and I judge it is a part of the new light, and new truths of these times, never yet given by any learned Classicall Authour. How much better were it for Churches to make the subject of Excommunication, such sinnes and errours which the Scripture hath made so, and those sinnes to be agreed upon, by common consent in Assemblies and Synods so drawne up for all to know them. But if it be objected that this may hinder further light, and an after discovery. I answer, when any thing more shall come to be found out, this need be no hinderance unto any light, but by the publike Government, and common consent, upon good grounds may be added: But this your judgement about the censure of Excommunication I fear is calculated for the Meridian of pretended liberty of conscience. Now this position of holding the subject of Excommunication, to be only such sinnes and errours as are against the parties known light, and the common received practises of Christianity professed in all Churches, and no other to be the subject of it, tends much to the tolerating of Sects and Heresies, which in this impure age is by many men, and by too many of the Church-way so studiously promoted against the nature of Reformation and true zeale. But if one of the great ends of Excommunication be to preserve others from infection, and to keep the Church of God pure, (as Divines teach,) then though the party offending shall pretend such sinnes or errours are not against his known light, neither contrary to the received principles of christianity universally acknowledged in all the rest of the Churches, yet Excommunication ought to be exercised by them who have power in the Church.

Apolog.

Apolog. *And for our direction in these or whatsoever else requisite to the manage of them. We had these three principles more especially in our eye, to guide and steere our practise by.*

1. *First, The supreme rule without us, viz. the Primitive patterne, and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles. Our consciences were possessed with that reverence and adoration of the fulnesse of the Scriptures, that there is therein a compleat sufficiencie, as to make the man of God perfect, so also to make the Churches of God perfect, (meere circumstances we except, & what rules the law of nature doth in common dictate) if the directions and examples therein delivered were fully known and followed. And although we neither professe that sufficiency of knowledge as to be able to lay forth all those rules therein, which may meet with all cases and emergencies, that may or sometimes did fall out amongst us, or that may give satisfaction unto all Queries possible to be put unto us; yet we found principles enough, not only fundamentall and essentiall to the being of a Church, but superstructory also for the well-being of it, and those to us clear and certain, and such as might well serve to preserve our Churches in peace, and from offence, and would comfortably guide us to Heaven in a safe way: And the observation of so many of those particulars to be laid forth in the word, became to us a more certain evidence and clear confirmation that there were the like rules and rulers for all occasions whatsoever, if we were able to discerne them. And for all such cases wherein we saw not a clear resolution from Scripture, example or direction, we still professedly suspended, untill God should give us further light, not daring to seek out what was defective in our light in matters divine with humane prudence (the fatall terror to Reformation) lest by sowing any piece of the old garment unto the new, we should make the rent worse, we having this promise of grace for our encouragement in this, which in our publike Assemblies was often for our comfort mentioned, that in thus doing the will of God we should know more.*

From the Narration of your way and practises of your Churches, you come now to show the three great principles above all others by which you guided your selves in your practise; which I come now to examine, and doubt not but as you have expresst them to discover to the Readers their weaknesse and defectiveneſſe, and easily to take off all the seeming strength of the reasons hinted in them for your selves, and against us.

To the first Principle, *the supreme rule without you, the primitive patterne and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles* (which also is urgest by you in the third page) *as that sacred pillar of fire to guide you by in all the positive parts of Church-worship and Government*, I answer, why is the old Testament forgotten by you, and in both these places, not so much as mentioned? What, is the old Testament no patterne, nor example to you in Church-worship and Govern-

Government, nor is there nothing recorded there any part of the sacred pillar of fire to guide you by? Consider whether in this you follow not too much the the example of some Hereticks and erroneous spirits, who will have nothing to do with the old Testament, in the points they hold: This is the way of the Anabaptists, and of the *Antinomians*, both of old, and at this day; and I am sorry such men as you, in such a formall Apologie and Narration of your way (as you hold out this to be) should so farre forget your selves, as to countenance such persons so farre. And I must tell you, that your search was insufficient, and your rule too short, if you looked only on the first Apostolike directions, patterne and examples of those Primitive Churches erected by the Apostles: For in the old Testament there are many rules, directions and examples, as a pillar of fire to guide the Churches now by (as that *Rom.* 15. 4. showes) namely those examples and rules of morall and common equitie, else the Church of God should lose now many a good ground, for many practises, and you and your partie have been ill advised to fetch grounds out of the old Testament for many things you hold and practise. There are some things you practise that you have no proof for at all out of the new Testament, either in example or precept: As for instance, in the point of Ordination by the people without Officers, you alledge *Numb.* 8. 20. but can bring none out of the new Testament; so for the Church-Covenant, you multiply places out of the old, as *Jer.* 50. 5, *&c.* But none out of the new, and so for that power which you allow Christian Magistrates in the Church, you fetch from the old Testament. So in the point of Idolary against the naming the names used by Idolaters, you bring all out of the old Testament (as Master *Burroughs* in his Exposition on *Hosea* 2.) And without the taking in the old Testament (which you so wholly forget in this your first principle) you would lose much strength in severall points you hold and practise, against some who differ from you. As in the Baptisme of Infants from the Covenant made with *Abraham* and his seed, and the Circumcision of Infants, as in keeping the Christian Sabbath from the fourth Commandement, as in speaking against humane inventions in the worship of God from the second Commandement, with other particulars of the same kind. Now if you will use the old Testament in some examples and commands, as you do, (though here you forget to mention it,) Then grounds out of the old Testament, (in matters not ceremoniall and judiciall proper to the Jewes policie, Nation and times,) but in things of morall and common equity will justifie other practises. And how then you can escape in the way of Church-government, the lawfulnesse of appeales from lower Judicatories to higher, and the lawfulnesse of Formes of publike prayer composed and prescribed, with other particulars, I see not; But be-

cause

cause you foresaw these, and such like, (as that of a Nationall Church) you here decline the old Testament, and speak only of the New, and but of a part only of that too, namely that of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Epistles*, as your words in both pages, third and ninth, intimate, *The Churches erected by the Apostles, and the first Apostolike directions, patterns and examples of the Primitive Churches recorded in the new Testament*, which reaches no farther then the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistles*: But though you do dot deale fairly in abridging the Scriptures, and making your supreme rule so narrow, as the *Acts* and *Epistles*, and I might justly stand upon it, to make you inlarge your rule to the Books both of old and new Testament: yet well knowing the *Acts of Apostles* and *Epistles* will cast you; I am well contented, and most ready at that weapon alone to try it with you, and care not in the present controversie of the Church-way, as to let all other Authors, so for the old Testament, and that part of the New too, the Gospels, to stand by; and if you can make good out of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistles* by any Apostolike direction, patterne or example of those Primitive Churches, directed by the Apostles, many things you practise and maintaine, as Ordination of Ministers by the people alone, as your Church-covenant, as a few private Christians to gather and constitute a Church, as persons to be members of such Congregations where they live constantly many miles distant from their Ministers and the meeting places, with other such, I will yeeld the cause, and if I make not good from the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Epistles*, things mainly opposed by you, but affirmed by us; As that of particular Churches to consist of more then can meet in one place to be edified in all parts of worship, with other such, then blame me: So that I may say of your Church-way, and the questions between us, (as *Tertullian* answered long since some Hereticks,) That if they were to be determined by the Scriptures, they would not subsist; now as to the ground of this principle within you, *your consciences were possest with that reverence and adoration of the fulnesse of the Scriptures, that there is therein a compleat sufficiency, as to make the man of God perfect, so also to make the Church of God perfect, &c.* First, I answer, Your ground here alledged, doth not prove your supreme rule without you, (namely the Primitive patterne and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles) to be compleatly sufficient to make the Churches of God perfect, because that speaks as of the whole Scriptures, that there is in them a compleat sufficiencie, and not as of a part; now though the Scriptures may be and are so full and perfect, yet every part may not: you can in reason conceive that the whole may be compleatly sufficient to all ends and uses for which it was intended,

Tertul. de Resurr. carnis. c. 3.

when a part or parts may not ſuffice. And that Scripture which you alude unto for proof, 2 *Tim.* 3. *v.* 16, 17. ſpeaks of the whole Scripture, and not of a part only, the Papiſts would have πᾶσα γραφὴ in that text, to ſignifie *non totam, ſed omnem Scripturam*, and ſo would give that praiſe, not to the whole body of the Scriptures, but to particular parts of it: Learned [a] *Chamier* ſhewes the contrary, how that the whole Scripture is here rather to be underſtood, and he proves it by a three-fold argument, and in this great queſtion between us and the Papiſts, *An Scriptura Chriſtianum perfectum reddat*, reſolves the queſtion to be underſtood of the whole Canon in the Old and New Teſtament: And ſo doth [b] Doctor *Whitakers*, by which you may judge how unſufficient and ſhort your firſt principle was, being only a part of the Scriptures, but not the whole, and you may obſerve the fallaciouſneſſe of your reaſon propounded to argue from the whole to a part, becauſe the whole Scriptures have a compleat ſufficiencie to make the Churches of God perfect, therefore the Primitive patterne and example of the Churches erected by the Apoſtles have too. Secondly, I do alſo adore the fulneſſe of the Scriptures, and God forbid that I ſhould take from the Scriptures any thing God gives unto them, or that which in the Scripture is attributed unto it, but we muſt not give unto the Scriptures more then what God intended them for, or what the Scripture affirms of it ſelf, for that is to be wiſe above what is written, and to adde unto the word, and may be, and hath been a ground of dangerous conſequence in the Church of God, and to cleat it from your own inſtances of exception: (*Meer circumſtances we except, &c.*) Now ſuppoſe ſome to ſpeak as you do, and to be really acted alſo upon the ſame ground of the fulnes & ſufficiencie of the Scriptures ſhould yet affirm of the Scriptuers without all exception *of meere circumſtances, and of the rules which the law of nature doth in common dictate*, and ſhould ſay nothing muſt be practiſed, no not in meere circumſtances, but by ſome direction from the word; and as for the rules, the law of nature doth in common dictate, in them alſo the Scripture gives light how to do them, and thereupon ſhould ſpeak as you do all along in this Section; would not this prove inconvenient and trouble you in your Churches; Nay, ſuppoſe ſome ſhould ſo extoll the fulneſſe and ſufficiencie of the Scriptures that they ſhould hold them ſo perfect and ſufficient for all Chriſtians as to be a perfect rule for all civill government, and that Chriſtian common-wealths ought to be governed by Lawes only there recorded, and by no other (which opinion in ſubſtance *Carloſtadius* held; That in Courts of juſtice Judges ſhould not proceed according

[a] Chamier. *Panſtrat. Cathol.* lib. 8. *de Verbo*, cap. 3.

[b] Whitak. *de Script. perfect. quæ* 6. cap. 14.

In foro non ex jure humano ſed ex lege Moſis pronunciandum eſſe contendit, Melch. Adam. *vit.* Caroloſt.

ding

ding to humane Lawes; but according to the Law of *Moſes*; and ſo for Military practiſes ſhould hold all the way of Warre muſt be founded upon the Scriptures, and thereupon ſhould clamour againſt any other Art and way of Warre, then what was practiſed there. What would you reply to theſe men, or what ſtrength were there in ſuch principles, would not you anſwer them, in what ſenſe the Scriptures were perfect, and how they muſt underſtand it. Men have often by giving more to the moſt excellent creatures and things then the Scriptures allow, fallen into great errors and miſtakes. The Papiſts and Ubiquitaries ſpeak highly of the body of Chriſt, and 'tis all in the way of magnifying it, and *Schwenckfeldius* did boaſt Schlüſſelburg, *de* himſelf to be the Aſſertor of the glory of the fleſh of Chriſt *Hæret.* in Heaven, (which other Preachers neglected, or elſe oppo- *Feild.* ſed,) and yet all theſe held great errors about the body and humane nature of Chriſt, under the notion of advancing it. So in the preſent controverſie, by giving to the Scriptures that which God hath not given to them, both is, and may be a ground of error. And therefore I referre you for the true ſenſe of that queſtion concerning the fulneſſe and ſufficiencie of the Scriptures to make the Churches of God perfect, unto the anſwers our Proteſtant Divines give the Papiſts in that controverſie about the perfection of the Scriptures. (And by the way, let me commend to you, and all the Miniſters of the Church-way, to ſtudy our Proteſtant writers, as *Whitakers*, *Chamier*, *&c.* againſt the Papiſts upon the Church, and of the notes of the viſible Church, upon the controverſie concerning the Scriptures, the authority of Councels and Synods; and you ſhall finde ſatisfaction to moſt of the materiall grounds which have miſled you in your Church-way.) In which anſwers you ſhall finde, that the perfection and ſufficiencie of the Scripture is principally meant in matters of doctrine, and in points neceſſary to ſalvation: And for policie and externall order wherein the Scriptures do teach to them, it is to be underſtood of the Eſſentials, Subſtantials, and Fundamentals of Government and Diſcipline, and of the accidentals, acceſſaries, and circumſtantials, as I could abundantly out of *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, *Junius*, *Danæus* ſhew you; But I intend a whole Tractate upon that queſtion of the Scriptures, how farre they are a rule for all matters of externall government and order in the viſible Church, with anſwer to this objection particularly, and will not enlarge further, ſaving only that I will adde the reſolution of this queſtion and caſe out of *Whitaker*, *Chamier*, and *Cameron*, who are full and clear, that 'tis not againſt the perfection and ſufficiencie of the Scriptures, that all matter of externall order and policie are not laid down in the word: Learned *Chamier* ſhewes the judgement of the Churches of *France*, *Holland*,

Holland, nay he ſhewes, *'tis the perpetuall opinion of all the Proteſtants*, and he addes, *Yea truly to ſpeak (as the matter is:) The Church cannot be altogether without unwritten Traditions, and he inſtances in certain Rites according to places, times, and perſons, changeable and various:*

Cameron. Stver. Judge in controverſ. cap. 11.

So Cameron, *For ſince the Scripture hath been ordained of God to make one wiſe unto ſalvation, and perfect unto every good work, it muſt without doubt contain all doctrine neceſſary to ſalvation, otherwiſe it could not attain its end: Let us then adore (as* Tertullian *ſpeaks) the fulneſſe of the Scriptures, and let us not hear (as* Athanaſius *ſpeaketh) neither receive any thing beſides or above them in that which concerns the Doctrine of Faith. For touching the policie and ceremonies uſed in the Church; it is another matter, we avouch that the Fathers did not think themſelves bound to give an account of them by the Scripture.* So Dr. *Whitakers* ſpeaks alſo the ſame in that queſtion and controverſie of the perfection of the Scripture againſt human Traditions.

Chamier. Panſtrat. Cathol. de Canone. l. 8. c. 1. de perfectione Scripturæ. Status controverſiæ. Sect. 16.

Catholici in hoc toto negotio diſtinguendum putant inter res quæ traduntur in Eccleſia & rationem earum tradendarum: & res ipſas eſſe duorum generum, ſcilicet alias in quibus ſubſiſtentia eſt, & quaſi corpus religionis Chriſtianæ; non tantum ad fidem, ſed etiam ad mores formandos, politiamque Eccleſiæ continendam: proinde neceſſarias ex vi inſtitutionis divinæ: alias ejus eſſentiæ velut appendices, ejuſque corporis ornamenta; neque ex ſe, neque ex inſtitutione divina neceſſarias, ſed potius ab hominibus, & politiæ tantum cauſa in uſum receptas: ut ſunt diſciplinæ partes variis canonibus ſancitæ.

Chamier. de Canone. l. 8. c. 2. Sect. 20.

Imo verò ut fateamur quod res eſt, omnino non poteſt Eccleſia carere Traditionibus non ſcriptis; ſive intelligas quotidianam tradendæ fidelibus ejus veritatis, quæ non aliunde hauritur quam è libris ſacris rationem: ſive ritus quoſdam pro locis, temporibus, & perſonis varios: aptos tamen exercendæ pietati, charitatique conſervandæ: qui etſi non extent in canone totidem literis, tamen a nemine contemni debent, eo ipſo quod ab Eccleſia, id eſt paſtoribus inſtitui ſunt: dum tamen nihil officiant aut ſinceritati doctrinæ aut libertati conſcientiæ: cui propriè leges præſcribit, non niſi Deus.

Whitak. de Script. Perfect. contra Hum. Tradit. quæ 6. c. 10.

Non dicimus, omnes liberas ceremonias eſſe nominatim in Scripturis traditas, ut quemadmodum ſe gerere debeant homines in ſacrificatibus & hujuſmodi, quas eſſe varias & commutabiles pro temporum & perſonarum ratione minime ignoramus: de cæremoniis (inquam) liberis quæ ad externam tantum politiam & decorum

pertinent

pertinent non contendimus, sed de necessaria doctrina. Haec perpetua; illa vero non perpetua, sed ad tempora accommodata.

Deinde fatemur Apostolos in singulis Ecclesiis rituum aliquot atque consuetudines videlicet decoras constituisse, non autem scripsisse; quia Christus noluit eorum praecepta, tanquam perpetui futuri, sed libertati pro communi omnium temporum ratione mutari possint. Praescriptus autem ab illis esse ritus dicimus, qui pro communi ordine ad hanc vitam Ecclesiae sine miraculis accommodatus patet ex 1 Cor. 11. & 14. cap. Tantum generalis regula habetur in Scriptoris, omnia fieri ritu ad aedificationem & decorum esse dirigendam; sed ipsi particulares ritus non proponuntur. At dicimus omnia, quae necessaria sunt, sive ad fidem sive ad vitam spectent, aperte & abunde in Scripturis explicari.

Whitak. de Script. perfect. Quaest. 6. Article of the sufficiency of the Scriptures for salvation. *Vide* 39. Articles of Religion, of the Church of England.

Now as for the exception made by you of this rule of meer circumstances, and the rules of the law of nature, where what you affirme, seems to amount to this, that you practised all the examples of the Primitive Churches erected by the Apostles, (excepting those.) Suffer me to aske you these few questions upon your exceptions made of this first rule.

First, What you meane by meer circumstances, and what by the rules the law of nature doth in common dictate? because the Reader may be much deceived in these generall and doubtfull expressions; you should have done well to have particularized what you judge circumstances, and what meer circumstances, and what be the rules the law of nature doth in common dictate, as also have laid down before the Reader, how you in your Church-way keep unto these; and I aske the rather, because I finde a Sequot of Mr. *Bridges* (one of the Authors of this *Apologie*) preacht before the House of Commons, not long before this *Apologie* came forth, that makes none of these exceptions, but excepts and excludes them, shewing that in the visible Church Gods word is our line, able to reach unto all particular affaires of the Churches, and in particular he labours to answer that of circumstances, and perverts two sayings of *Luther* and Bishop *Jewel*.

Sermon at Paules Cr. *November*, 29. 1643. *pag.* 26.

Secondly, Whether you do practise and observe your own rule here given with the exceptions made by you? or whether you do not much depart from it in your Church-way, not yeelding to meer circumstances nor the rules the law of nature doth in common dictate? as for instance, receiving the Lords Supper at night, contrary to the practise of the Reformed Churches, standing upon that circumstance of time; denying appeales from the particular Congregations, whereas appeales are a rule the law of nature doth in common dictate.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, I demand of you, how you could so nakedly propound the Apostolicall directions, patternes and examples of the Primitive Churches to walk by, (excepting meer circumstances and the rules of the law of nature,) and not except withall extraordinarie and miraculous, personall and particular, occasionall and accidentall, temporary and locall patternes and examples. I own the Scripture for the rule, rightly understanding it, and in matters of Discipline and Church-order professe to walk by it, desiring to be tied to the Scripture patternes, particularly to the patterns of examples and precepts recorded in the new Testament, (provided this be understood in essentials and fundamentals of order, in matters of perpetuall use, and of a common reason to all times and places,) only I adde that in some things, where in matter of order and externall government there may be no such cleare directions either by precept or example, there generall rules of the word, with deductions out of Scripture simplie, and from precepts by way of Analogie, with rules of common prudence be taken in too. Now the interpretation of this rule (as I have told it you) being rejected, and the rule simply taken up without such limitations, will produce a wilde and strange discipline and Church-order, to practise all things recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Epistles*, without distinction and difference of those times, persons, places, and ours; and on the other hand to practise nothing but what hath a clear example, or precept in Scripture too, and in so doing, reasonable men cannot become a Church-society, nor exercise Church-communion. And however in matters of externall government and administration of holy things in the visible Church some pretend to this, to practise whatever they finde recorded in the Scripture, and to practise nothing whatsoever they finde not there, yet none of the Independents, no nor the highest forme of them, the Anabaptists, nor the highest sort of Anabaptists (who were called *Apostolici* from their pretending to imitate the Apostles in all things) ever yet have or do practise all patternes and examples recorded in the new Testament, or are contented with them alone, but practise somewhat over and above not particularly recorded in Scripture. I could lay down a catalogue of many particulars specified in the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Epistles*, not practised in your Churches, nor in any Churches of the Independent way, as also of many things practised by you (which we never read of in the Scriptures,) so that all the Independents are in many things according to the first patterne both defective and excessive. But I referre the full handling of this to a Tractate I intend concerning the Scriptures, How farre the Scriptures are a rule for all matters of Church-government and order in the visible Church: I adde only one thing for the Readers sake, that they be carefull to understand this first principle of

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yours, not so nakedly as you lay it down in page 8, p. 10, 11. because it hath been in, and may be a rock to split many on, and an *Ignis fatuus* to leade many into waters, instead of a sacred pillar of fire to guide to Heaven in a safe way. This foolish imitation of the Apostles in all things in matters of externall order, hath been and is the great foundation of evills on all hands, both in many practises and points of Popery, and amongst the Anabaptists, (as I could demonstrate in particulars (Learned *Danæus* in his Commentaries upon 1 *Tim.* cap. 5. speaks of it. *Schlusselburgius* writes also, that there is a sort of Anabapists call'd *Apostolici*, so named, because they profelled to imitate the Apostles in all things, they washed one anothers feet, they held all things ought to be common, they travelled up and down without staffe, shooes, cloak, money, because of Christs words, they went up to the tops of houses to preach, because Christ had said, *what you have heard in the eare, preach upon the house top.* Now how farre the want of these limitations and distinctions in this your first rule hath led some of you into errors and strange practises, and may lead you further, as into annointing the sick with oyle, baptising in rivers, &c. I leave you to consider of.

* Danæi Comment. in 1 Tim. 5. v. 23. & v. 17. *Cum exercitia quædam in usus emolumenta Apostolorum temporibus observata fuerant sibi persuaserunt hallucinati, neque intuentes, neque temporum, neque rerum dissimilium rationem habentes, ceteros omnes Christianos ad easdem virtutes præstandas voluerunt, sed eam posteriorum temporibus, &c. Et certe nimis impudentes sunt Catabaptistæ qui Paulli facti & exempla præcepta omnes vobis Deo ministris ad mandata operis equales esse contendunt, ut vellim tuos audiant.* b *Apostolici inter Anabaptistas cognomenti sunt, qui Apostolos æmulari in omnibus decreverunt. His unum Scripturæ literam tenere se jactabant. Absque baculo, calceis, pera, pecunia hinc inde vagabantur, juxta Christi verbo. Ascendebant in tecta domorum, ex quibus docebant omnibus, quæ Christus docuisset, quæ in aurem accepissent, annunciare in tectis. Pedes sibi invicem lavabant; cum pueris repuerascebant, hoc est puerilitèr se gerebant, uxores, liberos, domus, epistolas detorebant, quia Christus dixisset: nisi quis reliquerit domum, uxorem, &c. propter me, non potest esse meus discipulus.* Schlussel. de Secta Anabaptist.

But yet this first and great principle upon which you went and reared up your new Church-way, how difficult and abstruse a rule, and how doubtfull a ground-work do you make it, before you passe from it, by making that supposition upon it, *If the directions and examples therein delivered were fully known and followed. And that you cannot professe that sufficiency of knowledge as to be able to lay forth all those rules,* &c. Now then brethren consider with your selves according to your own grant, how for all this principle of the Primitive patterne to guide you by, yet it being so hard to know and finde out the way, and you not having that sufficiency of knowledge to lay forth the rules, how easily might you be out of the way then for all this principle, and how can we indeed think otherwise of you, being a few men and going by your

selves:

ſelves: So that ſuppoſing the Apoſtolicall directions and Primitive examples of the Churches (not excluding the Old Teſtament and Goſpels) to be the only rule of the outward adminiſtration and government of the viſible Church, and granting theſe were more eſpecially to guide and direct your practiſe by, (conſidering by your own confeſſion there is ſo much difficulty to make theſe out, and to lay down what is a binding and ſtanding direction, and what not, what is meerly circumſtantiall and what not, and how to apply many things which fall out to ſuch rules and ſuch examples recorded;) Yet we may ſee, how unſafe and dangerous it was for you, and for a few perſons to ſet up Churches and Church-government, and we may hence learne, what great uſe and need there is of Synods and Aſſemblies to draw out Church-government and diſcipline, and ſtill in all difficult caſes to meet for the debating and determining of things. And by the way let me admoniſh many of your followers of their boldneſſe and raſhneſſe of determining in matters of Church-government, and order, holding all things about diſcipline and Church-government to be ſo manifeſtly and clearly laid down in the Scriptures, as the light of the Sunne, and thereupon cenſuring many for not holding with them, imputing it to their want of ſelf-deniall and ſpirituall knowledge: By this they may ſee their great Leaders judge otherwiſe, who ſpeaking upon the Scriptures being a compleat rule to make the Churches perfect, put in a caution, and declare, *They cannot profeſſe that ſufficiency of knowledge, as to be able to lay forth all thoſe rules therein, which may meet with all caſes and emergencies that may or ſometimes did fall out amongſt them.* Now if the Apologiſts, men ſo able cannot profeſſe that ſufficiency of knowledge, &c. who yet according to their own Narration tell us, how they ſaw the dark part before many others, and how they had all that light of the Non-conformiſts, Reformed Churches, *New-England*, &c. What ſhall we think of a few private illiterate Chriſtians ſetting up of Churches, and framing a government, will this aſſure them (though the Scriptures be a perfect rule for Church-government, and this is the ſupreame rule they go by) that therefore they are in the right, certainly the great difficulty in knowing and finding out the directions and examples, and in applying them aright, and their weak knowledge will give ground ſufficient to all reaſonable men to ſuſpect the contrary. And for your ſelves Brethren, the Reader hath greater reaſon to judge from what you here grant about the difficultie of the Scriptures in the Church-way, and your inſufficiencie and ignorance in many caſes and to many queries, that you might be out of the way, then from the ſufficiencie of the Scriptures to make Churches perfect, and your making the Scriptures your ſupreame rule, that you only ſhould be in the right; and withall taking-

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in this that the Reformed Churches you depart from, (and all along reflect upon in this Apologeticall Narration,) holding the Scriptures (in a true sense) to have a perfection for Church-Government, and setting them up as their supreame rule to eye continually, and having the great advantage of you knowing the directions and examples in Scripture better then you, by reason of their great learning, numbers, long studying these points, all you speak here of this principle as a ground to take men with, and possesse the Readers of the truth of your way rather then theirs, hath no strength in it but the scale of sufficiency of knowledge and ability of finding out the rules and applying, being heavier on the Reformed Churches side, and the other scale of making the Scriptures the rule, equall to yours also; you must needs be found light compared with them. But after your supposition of the great difficulty of understanding this rule, and profession of the non-sufficiency of your knowledge, by which you weaken so much what you would gaine by the Narration of setting up this first principle, as the supreame rule without you, yet, before you leave it, in the following words you seem to affirme it; Indeed interfeering and hovering about, not knowing well where to light and to settle between the perfection and sufficiencie of the Scriptures to all Church-matters, and the difficulty of finding out the rules and directions (As the precedent words and subsequent put together do shew) *For you found principles enough not only fundamentall and essentiall, but superstructorie also, and those to you cleare and certaine, and such as might well serve,* &c. Now let the Reader judge, if these words do not declare a sufficiencie of your knowledge without either Ifs or Ands: But you must pardon me, if I do not beleeve, you found principles enough superstructorie and that upon these two following grounds.

First, Had you found principles enough superstructorie for the well-being of your Churches, and those cleare and certaine, and such as might well serve to preserve your Churches in peace and from offence, and would comfortably guide you to heaven in a safe way. How came it to passe that you made no better a use of them, for the well-being of your Churches to have preserved them in peace and from offence, but that in so short a time so many offences and differences should fall out, and you go so uncomfortably to heaven, doubting whether you were in the right way for Church-government & order.

Secondly, If you had found out principles enough superstructory, why did you not name them, at least some of them? you might have done well to have given the Reader a taste of them, it would have given good content, especially in such a Narration: I am of opinion both upon your totall silence and upon some search into these points, that besides the fundamentall and essentiall prin-

principles to the being of a visible Ministeriall Church you found not many superstructories laid down particularly in the primitive Churches either in practise or precept (namely ordinary, perpetuall, &c.) And I do desire you (setting aside Fundamentall essentiall and substantiall principles) that for the superstructories upon them, and your deductions, you would give me proofs from the Scripture for many of your practises (setting aside generall rules of the word and common rules of reason and prudence.) And whereas you make the observation of so many of those particulars laid forth in the word, *to become a more certain evidence and clear confirmation that there were the like rules and ruled cases for all occasions whatsoever, if you were able to discerne them.* Had you expreſt any of those particulars, the Reader might have gained somewhat, and I could have better told from your instances, what to have answered you; and might have shewn you the dissimilitude, how they might not have inferr'd the rest; but here, as in other passages of your Book, you finde it safest to be in the clouds, and to lie hid in generals. But grant it for once you observed many particulars. It followes not therefore from *many* to *all*. But this is a point and principle wherein weak arguments will become certain evidence and clear confirmation to you. But let me hint only some things to you now (because this discourse is but the Answer of a Narration, not of all arguments that may be brought) you are mistaken both in your *Observation* and your *clear confirmation* of what followes, for you shall finde that in the superstructories of the government of the Church, there are but few particulars laid down in the patterne and example of the Primitive Churches, and those Primitive practises are not such a rule given by God in matters of that nature, as that all things then practised must be so in all after times, or that nothing afterwards might be practised, but what is found there. For, besides meer circumstances, and the rules of the law of nature, there are in severall Churches, other things tending to the better edification of those Churches, to comelinesse, decencie, outward reverences, order, peace, (grounded upon generall rules of the word) which in other Churches are not so, by reason of the different customes of such Countries, and the diversities of times and places wherein they were. (For that is comlinesse and reverence in one country, which is not in another. So that my observation of so few particular superstructories recorded in the Primitive Churches, namely of common, ordinary, perpetuall order, with the different practises in the severall Churches, recorded in the new Testament, and sometimes in the same Church, in many things of the outward administration of externall order are found proofs to me, there are not rules nor ruled cases for many superstructories in externall Government. And as to that clause which followes next in this

this Section, *for all such cases wherein you saw not a clear resolution from Scripture, example or direction, you still professedly suspended, untill God should give you further light, nor daring to eeke out what was defective in your light in matters divine with humane prudence, &c.* For answer, I must tell you, you either saw that in the Scripture, that we cannot see by all search, or else you practised many things that have no clear resolution from Scripture, neither in example or direction, and pray in your Reply to this Answer, shew me what clear resolution you saw from Scripture for your Church-covenant. If it be so clear, shew it us. What I came the word of God out from you, or came it to you only, hath God given us eyes to see and know the mysteries of his Kingdom, to see such things as no glorious hypocrite in the highest forme can see, and can we not see what is common to hypocrites as well as to true Saints: Certainly had Master *Goodwin* had such clear resolution from Scripture for the Church-covenant, he would never have returned such an answer after so long a time of receiving Master *John Goodwins* Letters, written with such Giant-like confidence against the Church-covenant, as to desire after many weeks, longer day to give satisfaction, in regard Church-covenant lay so deep and remote amongst the fundamentals of Church-fellowship, which debt I believe was never yet paid to this day. I should be loath for my part in any thing I practise or hold to have a clear resolution from Scripture, to put off my Brother for proof of it till to morrow. Give me an Apostolicall example or rule (if you can) where ever the people alone made Ministers; why did you not here suspend, how durst you be made Ministers in this way by the people alone, and either be Ministers without Imposition of hands at all, or if any imposition, not by the laying on of the hands of the Presbyterie, but the hands of the people, both which are not only without any example of Scripture, but against the Primitive patterne and example. Give me a Primitive patterne wherein baptized persons professing the faith of Christ, and walking so, may not be admitted to Fellowship and communion in the Lords Supper, without professing their membership of some particular Congregation. Give me a word, either of precept or example, where ever the lay-elders did examine persons professing the faith, whether they were fit for Church-fellowship, and thereupon did propound their names in the Congregation, with many such particulars; so that you have dared to eeke out divine matters with your

Mr. *Tho. Goodwins* answer to a Letter with a Quere concerning the Church-covenant.

Confident we are (as confidentie it self can make us) that there is no commandement given to the Churches for exacting any such Covenant of those that are to be admitted into Church-fellowship with them.

Quere concerning the Church-covenant.

own inventions, not indeed with humane Prudence, but against humane Prudence and reason (as that instance in the way of your making Ministers by the people clearly shewes:) And I desire that you and others would consider what I say upon this occasion, that this is so prepostrous and irrationall a rule, that had you indeed, or should others observe it, to practise nothing in matter of externall order, unlesse you have a clear resolution from Scripture in an example or direction, you had never met together in a Church-way, nor can any society or company of men meet to those ends of constituting a Church and Government, and walking in the practise of it, but that some things must be done not particularly mentioned in the Scriptures. As for your calling humane Prudence, *the fatall errour to Reformation*, I judge that the want of it in Reformation hath still proved fatall, as amongst the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and in *New-England* also, till humane Prudence eeked out what was defective in the way of their gathering Churches at the first, and till humane Prudence punished by banishment and imprisonment (under the name of disturbers of the civill peace) many members of their Churches for *Familisme*, *Anabaptisme*, &c. without which courses, and other of the like kinde, their Churches and Common-wealth had been long ago ruined. And I much wonder you stile humane Prudence, the fatall errour to Reformation, and make Reformation of the Church and humane Prudence so opposite, especially you your selves knowing and expressing in the twenty eight page of your *Apologie*, the calling of this Assembly of Divines, *The way of God wisely assumed by the prudence of the State*. I suppose you call it not the way of God, as holding there is a clear resolution from Scripture in any Apostolicall Primitive patterne of the Churches erected by the Apostles of an Assembly so chosen by the Magistrates to draw up a Government and direction in worship for so many Churches, (many of which Churches have not so much as any one of their members there) but only, a way of God according to generall rules and Prudence, and so, wisely assumed by the Parliament, and yet I hope you and your party will not afterwards, if the Assembly should determine against Independency, stile that the fatall errour to Reformation. But how ever we gaine thus much from your being members of the Assembly, voting in it, and calling your selves by that name, *Members of the Assembly of Divines*, namely a clear answer, that humane Prudence is not alwayes a fatall errour to Reformation, and, that a man needs not alwayes suspend his practise, though he have not a clear resolution of example or direction from the Primitive Churches (witnesse the acceptance of your being chosen to the Assembly.) As to that Metaphoricall expression of yours, the ground of your judging humane Prudence so fatall to Reformation, *Least by sowing*

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any peece of the old garment to the new, you should make the rent worse. I answer, if that be not understood aright and soberly, it hath been and will be the ground of great deformation in the Church, and of running into errours on the right hand: Thus the Anabaptists, least they should sow any peece of the old garment unto the new, renounce their Baptisme; and the Brownists will have the materiall Churches pull'd down, and our Ministers and Congregations quite made null, and all our Ministers and Congregations newly ordained and constituted. The ground of which mistakes ariseth from not considering the difference between the gathering and planting a Church out of *Judaisme* and *Heathenisme*, and the purging and building up a Church corrupted and fallen. As for that promise of encouragement made to such a suspension (which you say) *in your publike Assemblies was for your comfort often mentioned*, you should have done well to have quoted the text, and then I might have examined the place, whether there had been a foundation for any such promise to a few persons in a particular Congregation, withdrawing from the fellowship of other Churches, and forbearing all things in matter of externall order (though agreed upon by other Churches) without a clear resolution from Scripture example, or direction, that in so doing they should know more in the matter of order and government.

Apology. And second Principle we carried along with us in all our resolutions, was, not to make our present judgement and practise a binding Law unto our selves for the future; which we in like manner made continuall profession of upon all occasions. We had too great an instance of our own frailty in the former way of our conformity; and therefore in a jealousie of our selves, we kept this reserve, (which we made open and const ant profession of) to alter and retract (though not lightly) what ever should be discovered to be taken up out of a mis-understanding of the rule: Which principle we wish were (next to that most supreme, namely, to be in all things guided by the perfect will of God) enacted as the most sacred Law of all other, in the midst of all other Lawes and Canons Ecclesiasticall in Christian States and Churches throughout the world.

This is a dangerous principle to go by in the Church of God, excellent for unstable men, and wanton wits fitted for libertines, and running heads that love no fixed nor setled Government, and serves well to the humour of a few particular persons; but pernicious and sad for Nationall Churches and Kingdomes, a reserve indeed and a good back doore to go out at from Brownisme to Anabaptisme, and from Anabaptisme to Sebaptisme, and from thence to Familisme and Socinianisme; it is a ready prepared way for those that would draw men into errours under the pretence of new light, to work upon, and so to lead men from one errour to another till there be no end. Which is

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kind of principle of uncertainty in matters of Religion, the Remonstrants did hold forth in those sad times of the troubles of the Churches in the Netherlands, that so they might overturne all formes and harmonies, whereby the Churches both within themselves and one towards another might be settled and associated: that was one of the speciall rules of the Arminians, *dare disputare*: But this principle of yours so carried all along in your resolutions, seems to crosse that first principle of the Scriptures, the supreme rule and perfect for Church government; for in effect it is as much as to hold that the Government and way of the Church visible is so uncertain and doubtfull, as that little or none may be positively laid down and concluded as *Jure Divino*. Now according to this second principle and profession of yours, why do you make such outcries and tragedies in the Church, forsaking all Churches for you know not what, even for that which you made open and constant professions upon all occasions you would not be bound to; and pray how doth this agree with your principle of Church-government, that it is in all particulars perpetuall and unchangeable, when as you will be changing it so often; But certainly when you first fell to your Church-way and took up this principle, you were not resolved what way to follow, but thought that in some yeers by adding now and then, and forsaking this and the other, you might attain to something in the end. But let me aske you, ought men in the matters of Religion, and in things of the Kingdom of Christ to be Scepticks and so irresolved, or ought not men to be perswaded in their Consciences? But I hope the Parliament will observe this great principle you were first acted by, and still are in all your Church-way, and will see how dangerous the tolerating of your way will be; for though you should for present hold nothing much different from the established rule, yet being allowed, what may you not come to, according to this principle, how shall any State be sure of you long what you will hold? What if you should bring in community of goods, baptizing in rivers, the holy kisse into your Assemblies at the beginning and ending of your Ordinances, annointing sick persons with oyle? it is but according to your principle: And we see you make so much of this principle, and are so in love with it, that you wish it next to your first principle, enacted as the most sacred Law of all other, to live and walk by it in Christian States and Churches throughout the world, and I am perswaded if you would speak out, you wish it instead of all other Lawes and Canons Ecclesiasticall: You are not content your selves to be Scepticks and loose in the government of the visible Church, but you would have all others to be like unto you, not to make their present judgement and practice a binding Law for the future, but to make continuall professions upon all occasions of altering. But let us consider

sider what may be the reason of such a passionate desire that this principle were enacted in all Churches, I conceive these following; 1. That others changing and altering as well as you, the imputation of inconstancy and lightnesse might not stick upon you. 2. That so you might gaine more to your way and Church, by possessing them with this principle, (having this advantage to work upon, and this engine to draw the people with:) there is nothing you have concluded on, but you are free and at choyce still to take what seems most probable to you; (whereas if men be set down and resolved, they are not so apt to change:) 3. That so you might not, as you pretend, block up the way to further light, but keep alive that principle of New-light, and New truths, and that men must not content themselves with old truths and the old light, but they must seek out after New-light; whereas establishment and settling in points (upon serious debates and disputes) both in points of doctrine which be fundamentals and substantials of discipline, as the truths of God and the way for men to walk in upon such Scriptures and reasons, will shut out such search (as you conceive;) but this is a mistake to imagine that if any evident light from Scripture should come in afterwards (especially considering that Reformed Churches in their Confessions and Articles hold that particular Churches may erre and may receive increase of knowledge, and for matters of Discipline declare particularly, that in the accessaries, accidentals, circumstantials, Churches have liberty to change upon inconveniences and different occasions that may arise) that they are ever the further off from it. But this principle of irresolution and uncertainty in matters of Religion upon the ground of New-light and New truths, as it is commonly held down and drunk in now by men of the Church-way, makes men unsettled, restlesse, doubtfull in their present practise, and upon searching when they can finde none, the Devill and their own corruptions will make some, and brings them old errors for New truths, and men being possest by some, that principles are to be New studied, and that there are New truths and New light never known before, Satan is not wanting to raise up one or other to vent errors under those notions (as we see at this day in the Antinomians and the Anabaptists) their great argument whereby they take so many, being that of New light and New truths which God hath revealed in these times. 4. I hope this principle so rooted in you, and your frailty in the former way of conformity, may be a reserve for you to come off from Independency to Presbytery upon the debates of the Assembly, and from your Church-way to the way of the Reformed Churches, which I heartily pray may be the fruit of this principle so openly and constantly profest, and am not wholly out of hope (especially of some of you.)

Apolog. *Thirdly, We are able to hold forth this true and just Apologie un-*

to the world, That in the matters of greatest moment and controversie, we still choose to practise safely, and so as we had reason to judge that all sorts, or the most of all the Churches did acknowledge warrantable, although they make additaments thereunto.

To this third great principle of yours I answer:

1. To it generally as you lay it down here generally, and afterwards more particularly to the instances and particulars brought by you to make it good. In this principle you labour to cast an odium upon all the Reformed Churches who differ from you, dealing by them in such a medium and way as the Protestants do by the Papists, whereas we alledge against the Papists that the Protestant Religion is *virtute*, and what we practise they themselves cannot but allow, only they hold and practise over and above, as namely they adde to Christs Righteousnes their own in the point of Justification, to Christs intercession, the intercession of the Virgin *Mary* and Saints, to prayers unto God prayers to Angels and Saints, to the Scriptures the traditions of the Church, to our Sacraments (confest by themselves) five others, &c. So here you say that you chose to practise safely, and so as you had reason to judge other Churches did acknowledge warrantable; but they make additaments, and this you weave in all along in the particular instances under this head, *and is but upon them to prove what they adde over and above.* Now besides the great dissimilitude and difference of additaments in the things themselves between the Protestants and Papists, and you and the Reformed Churches, the Papists additaments being in matters of faith and substance of worship, but the matters excepted against by you being about outward government and order, and that not so much about the things themselves, the officers, parts of worship, but about the different manner and way of them (as you acknowledge in your eighth page:) and so you had no such cause to insinuate such matters against the Reformed Churches, yet consider that what you do hold forth and take as your medium, you have no good ground for, which will appear in three particulars, and so your Apologie held forth unto the world is neither true nor just

1. I will demonstrate that in many matters of greatest moment and controversie you did not still chuse to practise safely, and so as you had reason to judge that all sorts, or most of the Churches did acknowledge warrantable.

2. That the Reformed Churches practised more safely then you, and did not make additaments as you charge them.

3. That you in many Church practises have made additaments and superadditions, and that in more materiall things then in such circumstances wherein you tax the Reformed Churches.

For the first of these three: Take these three instances for the present. 1. It

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is a matter of great moment and controversie to forsake the publike Assemblies (which you confesse are true Churches and the body of Christ) and to set up separated assemblies without and against the leave of the Magistrate, Ministers and Churches: This is, by the judgement of all the godly and learned Divines of note, both in other Churches and in our own, condemned as unlawfull, by *Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, Bullinger, Junius, Paraeus, Mornay, Arnesius, Voetius*, &c. with *Whitakers, Brightman, Perkins, Cartwright, Parker, Baines, Hildersham, Ball*, &c. I could fill a book with the testimonies of these and many others, and I do challenge the Separatists of all sorts, whether them of the head-forme the Anabaptists, or of the middle-forme the old Brownists, or the lowest-forme the Semi-Separatists, to give me any precept or allowed example of such a practise out of the Primitive patterne, shew it me and I will yeeld the cause: As for that place *Rev.* 18. 4. you professe against that in your sixth page, of having any thoughts of our Churches or Ministers to be Antichristian and Babilonish; I could alledge many Scriptures against this practise, *Jude v.* 19. *&c.* The Apostles who were sent by Christ into the world to make Disciples, and to bring men from Judaisme and Heathenisme to beleeve in Christ, and to plant Churches of such, yet they never taught nor practised to gather and separate some Christians from the rest, one part of the Church from the other, to go constitute a purer Church, neither in *Corinth, Philippi, &c.* Although there were many corruptions, and many loose persons: But *Paul* taught and practised to censure and cast out evill persons (but in case those who had power neglected their duty) he never taught the godly to separate from the Lords Supper celebrated in the publike Assemblies, much lesse for a few to withdraw from their Pastors and other brethren, and to set up new Churches of themselves: You are Schollars and well read in the Scriptures; shew me but any such direction from the Apostles and I am yours. 2. It is a matter of moment and controversie, the right making and calling of the Ministers of the Gospel, now all the Reformed Churches according to the examples of Scripture, hold, Ministers are not to be made by the people alone, and that the people have not power of Ordination and imposition of hands but the Presbyters, and yet you have practised the being call'd and made Ministers by the people, without the Imposition of hands of the preaching Presbyters. 3. It is a matter of great moment and controversie, whether private Christians who were never trained up in Arts and learning, nor intend not the Ministery, may in the publike Congregation Prophesie, which Prophesying as it is not practised by the Reformed Churches, so by most of them it is not counted warrantable, and yet you allowed it in your Churches, to which I might adde more

instances, but that the book would swell into too great a volume.

To the second head, it is evident the reformed Churches practised more safely as in declining your way, in the last mentioned Instances, in not permitting such as are Lay-men to preach or prophesie, in not forsaking true Churches or true Ministery for the mixture of wicked men, but rather calling out such, who after admonition continue impenitent; so in other practises practising as the Apostles, receiving men into their fellowship without any such curious inquirie and long detention, sending men from one to another, and requiring such preparatives and conditions to Church-fellowship (as your Churches have done.) The waies and practises the Reformed Churches walked in, were the good old way, known and beaten for some score of yeares, in which so many great lights and godly people have walkt, and so more safe then bie and new waies that a few men but of yesterday have taken up, and have not yet well aired, much lesse digested: And in the name of other Reformed Churches, *France*, *Holland*, *Scotland*, I deny the things you charge them with to be additaments, or to be properly so called; for if the particulars instanced in by you, will be found to have a footing in the Scriptures and practised in the Primitive Apostolicall Churches, then they will be no additaments, or if some of those things alleadged by you be of the nature of circumstances in the point of government and order, or according to the rules of the law of nature and the rules of common prudence, agreeable also to the generall rules of the word, then they are not truly by you called additaments and super-additions; for ☞ it is one thing to adde to the word of God and his worship, and another thing from generall rules of the word and common principles of the light of nature and prudence, considering the differences of times, places, persons, dispensations of gifts, to explicate and determine of many things in the administration of the visible Church: Now of things of this kind some thing must be which the word of God presupposes, or else you can have no setled government in the Church, and you may as well stile set Catechismes, confessions of Faith, reading of Chapters translated by others, singing of Psalmes between Chapters and after Sermons, preaching constantly upon Texts of Scripture, giving thanks after eating meat, &c. additaments, as some of the things instanced in by you. And let me hint this to you (which I know you understand well enough) but forget it often to paralell it with other passages, that in your practise of the administration of the Sacraments, and in other parts of worship you adde severall things besides what is recorded of Christ or the Apostles practise, or given particularly in any precept, (which I speak not to blame such practises) but to minde you such things as are not fitly stiled additaments.

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To be third, that you have made additaments and superadditions, and that in more materiall things then the Reformed Churches, being your selves guilty of what you accuse them, this being the strongest plea, and the only plea to speak of in all your book by way of Argument, the rest being bare Narrations, I shall make good against you by particular instances: the proving of which practises of yours from Apostolicall directions must rest upon you who do them, and in so doing have departed from your selves and other Reformed Churches; amongst many particulars take these following. 1. To the Ministeriall preaching and dispensation of the word, you subjoyned prophesying by the people. 2. To the power of government by the Officers of the Church, you have added the power of the people. 3. In joyning in particular Congregations, you did superadde the Church covenant. 4. To the Pastor you superadde the Teacher, as a necessarie distinct Officer from him, and so necessarie, as in most of your Churches you had two Teachers, and have been some years without a Pastor at all, (which is a sad condition for people to be in, to want a Shepheard). 5. To the Deacon you added the Church widdow as a distinct Officer, and as necessary for the perpetuall government of the Church. 6. To our Parochiall Assemblies in *England*, which you call in the fifth page the true Churches and body of Christ, and abhorre the thought of counting them Antichristian; where you say you hold communion as with true Churches, you have superadded and erected new Churches. 7. To our Ministery of the Parochiall Assemblies (which is true also by your own confession and not Antichristian) you have superinstituted and superinducted another Ministery, any one of which particulars to be laid down in the Primitive patterne I professedly deny, and it rests upon you who allow what Reformed Churches practise, but in the particulars instanced and many more, do practise over and above what the Reformed Churches do, to make evident and demonstration upon clear grounds, especially when men set up a new way, and leave the practise of all Reformed Churches, (double light being required for separation in any kind, whereas single light sufficeth for any man continuing in his standing.) And certainly of all other things in the matter of practise in the visible Church, the medling with the keyes of the Kingdome of God, both in doctrine and discipline, with the withdrawing and forsaking the true Churches of Christ, and the Ministerie thereof, wherein men have been converted and built up, and have converted and built up so many, with the setting up of new Churches against the leave and will of the civill Magistrate, without the consent of those Churches departed from, and to the scandall and grief of so many godly Ministers and Christians, nay the scandall of all Reformed Churches, and all this under presence of spirituall power and

liberty purchased for them by Christ, had need have a clear and full proof, and not be built only upon such weake and slight grounds, as flattering similitudes, witty allusions, remote consequences, strained and forced interpretations from hard and much controverted Scriptures? And now by what I have already answered to this Principle in these three particulars, let the indifferent Reader and your own consciences be judge, whether you or the Reformed Churches practise most safely, and do that which most Churches acknowledge warrantable, and who is most guilty of making additaments, when as you and all of your way allow that which they practise in the seven particulars instanced in, but you practise many things which all Churches condemne, excepting the Churches of the Independent way; and if one thing be considered to what I have said that you put the weight and stamp of divine institution, and of necessitie upon your additaments, making them parts of worship and essentiall, as upon prophesying, as upon the office of Teachers distinct from Pastors, &c. but the Reformed Churches in what you call their addicaments, even in some of them instanced in by you, put not so great an authoritie, but only an allowance and lawfulnesse of set-formes of prayer prescribed, not a necessitie, but a lawfulnesse of mixtures in Congregations, so as not to leave the Church for that; and in other practises, you count additaments in matters circumstantiall of time, place, manner and way of doing things, which upon good reasons may be changed, so that here is a wide difference between that which you call their additaments, and yours truly so called, and let me adde this that the great pinch of a conscience and the poyson in Ecclesiasticall matters concerning outward Government and order (wherein the Scripture hath not laid down a particular rule for) lyes in the stamp of putting a necessitie and a divine institution upon them, and unto such and of such is that Scripture spoken so frequently in the mouthes of men of your way: *In vaine do you worship me, teaching for Doctrine the commandements of men.*

Apolog. *For instance: whereas one great controversie of these times is about the qualification of the Members of Churches, and the promiscuous receiving and mixture of good and bad; therein we chose the better part, and to be sure received to none but such as all the Churches in the world would by the ballance of the Sanctuary acknowledge faithfull. And yet in this we are able to make this true and just profession also, that the rules which we gave up our judgements unto, to judge those we received in amongst us by, were of that latitude as would take in any member of Christ, the meanest, in whom there may be supposed to be the least of Christ, and indeed such and no other as all the godly in this Kingdome carry in their bosomes to judge others by. We took measure of no mans holinesse by his opinion, whether concurring with us, or adverse unto us; And Churches made up of such, we were sure no Protestant could but*

but approve of, (as touching the members of it) to be a true Church, with which communion might be held.

And having answered generally, I come now to the particulars brought to make this third principle good, and shall shew how little there is in them to make good that they are brought for.

To your first instance of chusing the better part, and to be sure receiving in none for members of Churches, but such as all Churches in the world would by the ballance of the Sanctuary acknowledge faithfull.

1. To speak nothing now of that, how in Churches there may be a receiving to some of the Ordinances (and so to be under the care of the Ministers) and a receiving of others to all the Ordinances, that is, there may be members to a part, and there are members as to all the Ordinances, and so according to the first there may be a promiscuous receiving and mixture, for which I can give good reasons and instances as in children, catechumenists, but must not handle at large every point now which your Narration hints at.

2. In your admission of members you chose not the better part, nor the safer: To go on the hand of charitie and love is the better part, and safer hand, which charitie if you look into the 1 *Cor.* 13. *hopes the best, thinkes no evill*, &c. And a man had better receive some of whom there may be some doubt and feare, then discourage and refuse any of Christ little ones, which both your principle and practise hath done abundantly in *New-England* and in *England*. But here in your Narration you deal fallaciously in stating the question. For the question is not about *receiving in none, but such as all Churches in the world would acknowledge faithfull*; but about receiving in all and refusing none whom the Churches had no reason, but to acknowledge faithfull; For according to your words laid down, and as you would carry it to deceive the Reader with, of receiving none, but such as all Churches would acknowledge faithfull, you might receive in, but a few of high forme Christians, whom also all the Churches in the world would not (as some hold the ballance) acknowledge to be faithfull, and so you might receive in, but a very few: And it is evident by your practise that many whom all the Reformed Churches hold fit to be received, having a competent knowledge of God, Christ and themselves, and live free from all scandalous and grosse sins, and outwardly practise duties both to God and man, even multitudes of these you will not admit, nor do not into your Churches. And as to that just and true profession you are able to make, *That the rules you gave up your judgement unto, to judge those you received in among you by, were of that latitude to take in any member of Christ*, &c. I must tell you this is like some of your just and true professions before, namely, unjust and untrue, and this is neither the first nor the last unjust and untrue profession

fession in your Narration, and I shall make it good both by your practises, and by some rules laid down by some of your selves. Master *Goodwins* letter in answer to Master *John Goodwin* grants, they require of men to admission into their Churches, that they know what belongs to Church-fellowship, and do acknowledge the same, and approve thereof, with other things of that nature: now whether this be a rule of that latitude, that will take in any member of Christ, the meanest, in whom there may be supposed to be the least of Christ, and indeed such and no other, as all the godly in this Kingdome carry in their bosomes to judge others by: I appeal to your own consciences. That holy Martyr *Bradford* with many more, not only the least, but great stars in the firmament of the Church, never knew nor dreamt of what belong'd to your Church-fellowship, and I am confident that Master *Goodwin*, Master *Bridge*, my self, with many others, many yeares after we were members of Christ, and conversed together in *Cambridge* as Saints, yet understood not what belonged to this Church-covenant and Church-fellowship: and this is such a rule that multitudes of the godly in this Kingdome, came not in their bosomes to judge others by, nor would not themselves be judged by, nor never heard of such things till your times: And if your rules were of such a latitude as would take in any members of Christ the meanest, whence came it to passe that in *New England* so many men (in whom the godly have presumed to be some thing of Christ) and who are you to judge the contrary, have not yet been admitted, and amongst many other instances that might be given in your own Churches, I will name one; Mistris *Symmes*, a modest, humble woman, many yeares well reputed of in *England*, of godly Parents, wife to a godly Minister, who though her husband was received a member of Master *Simpsons* Church, and then chosen the Pastor, yet his wife could not be received into the Church a long time, and whether yet she be I know not: I have been told also from one who lived in those parts, that after Master *Simpson* upon rending from Master *Bridge* had set up a new Church, one who was upon his triall for admission into Master *Simpsons* Church, was openly asked by a prime man (who had a hand in that rent) what his judgement was of the Brethrens liberties to prophesie; and if the man had not been right in that point, it might have hazarded his Membership. And that the Reader may not be abused nor amused with such kind of passages, but that it may appear what ever here you say you have other rules, and require other things of men to communion with you, pray satisfie us: What was the reason, and what is the matter that when Master *John Goodwin* fell to your principles and way, so many godly persons of his own Parish could not be received in by him as Church-members, nor accounted so, without yeelding to some rules and conditions, which they being members

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bers of Christ (and some of them none of the meanest) could not condescend unto. As to that you say, *You took mistake of our mans holinesse by his opinion, whether concurring with you or adverse unto you.* I appeal to your consciences, if my self or some others whom you have accounted godly should have declared their opinions adverse to your Church-covenant, and other of your Church-principles, and yet being in *Holland* should have desired for the time to have been admitted to fellowship with you in the Lords Supper, whether would you have admitted us? Now to that passage of yours in the close of this first instance: and Churches made up of such wee were sure no Protestant could but approve of, &c. This goes upon the mistake observed by me before, That the question in controversie about Church-members is not, nor cannot be meant, Whether Churches made up of such members, as all account faithfull, be by all Protestants approved of to be true Churches, with whom communion may be held: But whether communion may not be held with such Churches, and such received into communion and fellowship of Churches, whom many Churches (especially yours and those of the Church-way) do not upon your principles acknowledge true and fit matter. And in this I am sure all Protestants of note are against you, and for us, accounting such visible Churches (as you here instance in) an *Utopia*, holding it *Donatisme*, and *Anabaptisme*, and when the Papists do in their writings father upon them such a visible Church as you dreame of, and such principles as you hold, they disclaime it (as learned *Whitaker*) (*Whit. de Eccles.*) It being the constant opinion of all the great Protestant Divines, *Calvin, Luther, Zanchius, Junius*, &c. That the visible Church of Christ consists of good and bad, resembled therefore to a field, net, floore, where chaffe as well as good graine, &c.

Apolog. *Againe, concerning the great Ordinance of publike Prayer, and the Lyturgie of the Church, whereat there is this great controversie upon it about the lawfulnesse of set-formes prescribed; we practised (without condemning others) what all sides do allow and themselves do practise also, that the publike prayers in our Assemblies should be framed by the meditations and studie of our own Ministers, out of their own gifts (the fruits of Christs Ascension) as well as their Sermons use to be. This we were sure all allowed of, though they superadded the other.*

To this second Instance concerning the great ordinance of publike prayer, and the Lyturgie of the Church, I shall give you one Answer after another, following you according to your expressions upon it, wherein I finde you like your selves in the other precedent parts, in generalls and in the dark, so as few Readers can tell by your Narration here what you hold and practise about publike prayer.

1. Whereas you say, *There is this great controversie upon it about the lawfulnesse*

fulneſſe of ſet-formes prescribed. I muſt tell you this great controverſie upon it is raiſed only by your ſelves and the Brownists, there being no Divines, nor no Reformed Churches that I know of, but do allow the lawfull uſe of ſet-formes of prayer, (not impoſed and framed by others (as by Synods and Aſſemblies) and do make uſe of ſuch ſometimes, as the Churches of *France* and *Holland* in the adminiſtration of Sacraments uſually do, and thoſe who practiſe them not ſo much, yet at leaſt hold them lawfull. And I challenge you in all your reading to name one Divine of note and Orthodox that ever held ſet-formes of prayer prescribed unlawfull, excepting only Independents.

2. What understand you by ſet-formes prescribed, whether prayers only made and framed by others: As ſuppoſe by an Aſſembly or Synod, but yet not impoſed, or whether prayers compoſed by others, and then preſcribed and required by authoritie to be uſed: Now if you ſay you understand it in the ſecond ſence, that you queſtion the lawfulneſſe of that, but not in the firſt: I aske you whether you will practiſe, and do hold it lawfull to uſe in your Aſſemblies, Prayers made and framed by others? As ſuppoſe a Directory for worſhip, which I the rather aske you, becauſe your words afterwards hinted as the ground for your own practiſe, and againſt the practiſes of the Reformed Churches, ſpeak againſt all ſet-formes of prayer compoſed by others (*That the publike prayers in our Aſſemblies ſhould be framed by the meditations and ſtudie of our own Miniſters out of their own gifts*) which reacheth to all prayers framed by other men, though they be left at liberty to uſe or not uſe them: And further this argument of yours ſpeaks only againſt formes of prayer, as in the firſt ſence, but ſpeaks not at all to it, as impoſed and enjoyned; but let your expreſſions of ſet-formes of prayer prescribed be taken in the ſecond ſence, yet I am ready to maintain, againſt you that ſet-formes of prayer, lawfull for their materialls, and eſtabliſht by a lawfull power to be uſed in the publike Aſſemblies, may lawfully be practiſed by Miniſters, and the people ſafely joyne in them.

3. As I aske of you in what ſence you took ſet-formes prescribed, ſo I deſire to know whether in the queſtioning of the lawfulneſſe of ſet-formes of prayer, you underſtand only formes of prayer framed by men and Miniſters in the Church, or whether not alſo prayers recorded in the Scriptures (as for inſtance the Lords Prayer) whether ever you practiſe the uſe of that in your Aſſemblies (which queſtion I make, becauſe I never heard that any of you five ever uſed the Lords prayer, either in your own Aſſemblies, or in ours, nor indeed that any of your way did, it being now made by many a note of a Formaliſt) Now if you account the uſe of it lawfull, conſidering the great offence, the totall diſuſe of it gives to many, and how it hinders the word to many,

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consideringe that Scripture with other like, *1 Cor.* 10.32. I wonder how you dare neglect it (and by the way let me tell you that *1 Cor.* 10.32. is stronger to command you the use of the Lords prayer, then for what it is alleadged by you in the seventeenth page, namely, for your principle of submission of Churches, *&c.*) And I propound to you further, whether if some other prayers word for word recorded in the Scriptures should be put into a Directorie, you would use them? As also, whether you would practise the reading of ten Psalmes and Chapters appointed out for you?

4. As for the practising your own prayers *without condemning others.* I answer, that is not so, 1. Because you bring many arguments against set-formes of prayer, framed by others and prescribed that amount to a condemnation in a high nature, terming such prayers will-worship, inventions of men, as is evident both by Manuscripts and by printed Discourses of Master *Davenports*, Master *Cottons*, Mr *Nyes*. 2. You with-drew from our Sacraments and publike Assemblies upon this ground and have drawn many away with you, and have set up new Churches.

Manuscr. Arg. of Mr. *Nye* against set formes of prayer prescribed.

But it may be you will in this Narration have this evasion that though you condemne the practise, yet not all the persons that use them, you do not condemne them as ungodly. I answer, no more do the rigid Brownists nor Anabaptists, who yet condemne sufficiently our Churches and our prayers, and yours too, for they acknowledge both you and us to have eminent personall graces.

Mr *Williams* answer to M. *Cotton* letter. Queries proposed upon occasion of an Apologeticall Narration. *Robinsons Apolog. cap.* 12. *de Eccles. Anglic.*

5. As to that Argument brought by you for conceived prayers, but against set-formes made by other men, I briefly suggest these following things to you and the Reader. 1. That by your own concession set-formes of prayer are not unlawfull, because they be set and framed before hand, and not conceived suddenly, wherein you grant, that the publike prayers in the Assemblies may be premeditated, framed and studied before hand, as well as Sermons, which concession takes off one of the strongest Arguments used against set-formes of prayer. 2. I answer, it is not against the fruits of Christs ascension into Heaven, and of giving gifts unto men for the Ministery, that they do not alwaies in all their prayers exercise their own gifts of invention and compositall of prayer, for so the using of the Lords prayer should be unlawfull at any time for the Ministers (which is no prayer framed out of their own meditations and studie, and their owne gifts.) 3. I answer, there is a great dissimilitude in many respects, between Sermons and prayers, so that it will not hold, though Sermons ought to be framed alwaies out of our own gifts, that therefore

fore prayers alwayes ſhould be. And this I will demonſtrate in a Diſcourſe of the lawfulneſſe of uſing ſet-formes of prayer compoſed by others. 4. It is not againſt the fruit of Chriſts Aſcenſion, nor the gifts given then for Miniſters, in ſome inſtructions and teachings of the people to make uſe of ſomething ſometimes in publike, either doctrinall or practicall, not framed out of their owne gifts, but by others. As ſuppoſe the reading in the Congregation to the people often ſome confeſſion of faith, or ſome exhortation about many things of uſe to them, having ſtill the free uſe of their gifts to preach beſides. 5. Suppoſe you five ſhould joyne together out of your owne meditations and ſtudies, exerciſing your owne gifts to frame publike prayers of maine petitions needfull for the ſtate of all your Churches, whether might they be uſed by you in your publike Aſſembies. 6. Whether each of you by your ſelves framing upon meditation and ſtudy a ſet-forme of prayer, may not uſe that often in your Aſſemblies without ſin, having alſo your liberty to adde conceived prayers at the ſame time.

But to put all out of queſtion about the ſecond inſtance, I judge that ſet formes of prayer preſcribed taken in both ſenſes, that is neither made nor framed out of the gifts of the perſons who uſe them, nor left at liberty, but by publike conſent agreed upon to be uſed, are not unlawfull to be practiſed: but the Scriptures give us examples for ſuch prayers, as in 2 *Chron.* 29. 30. *Moreover* Hezekiah *the King, and the Princes commanded the Levites to ſing praiſe unto the Lord, with the words of* David, *and of* Aſaph *the Seer: and they ſang praiſes with gladneſſe, and they bowed their heads and worſhipped.* And therefore the uſe of ſet formes of prayer, framed and compoſed by others and preſcribed, having example in Scripture (as well as conceived) are no additament nor ſuperaddition, but the Reformed Churches in practiſing both, practiſe moſt ſafely, according to Scripture patternes, and your Churches uſing only one ſort and not the other, leave following examples recorded in Scripture; and we may more juſtly caſt upon you the taking away from Scripture (taking away being a like branded by Scripture as adding;) But you do unjuſtly caſt upon the Reformed Churches adding to the Word, the Scriptures holding out examples for both: And for the further clearing your miſtakes in this great ordinance of publike prayer, I ſhall only adde this, all that God hath commanded either in the old Teſtament or New about publike prayer, is, that prayers be made in the publike Aſſemblies, and that thoſe prayers be of petitions for their matter and kind lawfull, according unto the will of God, directed unto God alone in the Name of Chriſt, with humility, fervency, faith and ſuch like; but that God hath required, that as oft as Miniſters pray, they muſt put up prayers framed by their own meditations and ſtudies out of their

own gifts, and that the words and phrases must be various and diversified, or else their prayers are not lawfull, there is never such a syllable to prove it in the Scripture; But we have examples of both, namely set and conceived, and Gods servants used both indifferently, and we may use both according as we see occasion, and as we finde may make most for edification and Gods glory. And I desire you in your Reply to this Answer to give any instance to the contrary and I shall thank you, for I seek truth and peace, and not victory nor contention; And let me mind you whilst you go about in this instance to clear your selves of additaments; you are in this and other instances guilty of taking away from the Word, falling short, (as in other things, practising above what is written, besides your different way of practising in some things.

Apolog. *So likewise for the Government and Discipline in the Churches, however the practise of the Reformed Churches is in greater matters to govern each particular Congregation by a combined Presbytery of the Elders of severall Congregations united in one for government; yet so, as in their judgements they allow, especially in some cases, a particular Congregation, an entire and compleat power of jurisdiction to be exercised by the Elders thereof within it self; Yea, and our own Master* Cartwright, *holy* Baynes, *and other old Non-conformists, place the power of excommunication in the Eldership of each particular Church with the consent of the Church, untill they do miscarry, and then indeed they do subject them to such Presbyteriall and Provinciall Assemblies as the proper refuge for appeales and for compounding of differences amongst Churches, which combination of Churches others of them therefore call* Ecclesiæ ortæ, *but particular Congregations* Ecclesiæ primæ, *in wherein firstly the power and priviledge of a Church is to be exercised. And withall we could not but imagine that the first Churches planted by the Apostles, were ordinarily of no more in one City at first then might make up one entire Congregation, ruled by their owne Elders, that also preached to them; for that in every City where they came, the number of converts did or should arise to such a multitude as to make severall and sundry Congregations, or that the Apostles should stay the setting up of any Churches at all, untill they rose to such a numerous multiplication as might make such a Presbyteriall combination, we did not imagine. We found also those Non-conformists (that wrote against the Episcopall government) in their Answer to the arguments used for Episcopall government over many Churches, brought from the instances of the multitude of believers at Jerusalem, and other places and Cities mentioned in the new Testament, to assert that it would not be infallibly proved that any of those we read of in the Acts and elsewhere, were yet so numerous, as necessarily to exceed the limits of one particular Congregation in those first times. Wee found it also granted by them all, that there should be severall Elders in every Congre-*

gation, who had power over them in the Lord, and we judged that all those precepts, obey your Elders, and them that are over you, were (to be sure, and all grant it) meant of the Pastors and Teachers, and other Elders that were set over them in each particular Congregation respectively, and to be as certainly the intendments of the holy Ghost, as in those like commands, Wives obey your own husbands, Servants your own Governours, to be meant of their severall families respectively. We could not therefore but judge it a fast and an allowed way to retain the government of our severall Congregations for matters of Discipline within themselves, to be exercised by their owne Elders, whereof we had (for the most part of the time we were abroad) three at least in each Congregation, whom we were subject to: yet not claiming to our selves an Independent power in every Congregation, to give account or be subject to none others; but only a full and entire power compleat within our selves, untill we should be challenged to erre grossely; such as Corporations enjoy, who have the power and priviledge to passe sentence for life and death within themselves, and yet are accountable to the State they live in. But that it should be the institution of Christ or his Apostles, that the combination of the Elders of many Churches should be the first compleat and entire seat of Church power over each Congregation so combined; or that they could challenge and assume that authority over those Churches they feed and teach not ordinarily by vertue of those fore-mentioned Apostolicall precepts, was to us a question, and judged to be an additament unto the other, which therefore rested on those that allowed us what we practised over and above, to make evident and demonstrate: (and certainly of all other the challenge of all spirituall power from Christ, had need have a clear pattent to shew for it:) Yea we appeale further unto them that have read books, whether untill those later writings of those two Reverend and learned Divines of Scotland, set forth after our returne, not much more then two yeeres since, and others of no elder date from Holland, and some of our owne Divines more lately written with much learning and ingenuity, there hath been much settly and directly, or with strength insisted on to prove that Government, and although assert and inculcate it they do as their opinions, yet the full strength and streame of our Non-conformists writings and others, are spent rather in arguments against, and for the overthrowing the Episcopall Government, and the corruptions that cleave to our worship, and in maintaining those severall Officers in Churches which Christ hath instituted instead thereof (in which we fully agree with them) then in the proof of a combined Classicall Presbyteriall Government as it is authoritatively practised in the most Reformed Churches.

Before I give a full answer to your third and last instance of the Government and Discipline in the Churches. I premise this; that in all the differences between you and us in the principles and practises of the visible

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Church and Government of it, you give but three instances only, wherein you practise more safely then the Reformed Churches (although you make such a great principle and matter of it in the eleventh page,) yet there are many things besides these three, wherein you practise differently from all Reformed Churches; as in the way of gathering and constituting Churches, in the way of making Ministers, in the power you give the people in Church-Government, *cum multis aliis*: Why did you in this Narration passe by these? Is it not either because you were not willing to tell all you hold and practise, (the time being not yet come to open all your way and principles, which is one of the things I blame you for, your reservednesse in keeping back so great a part, shewing us only the fairest side of that wherein you differ,) or else if you had thought fit to have related them; you in your owne wisdomes questioned, whether those other particulars wherein you differ would bare so fair a glosse as of practising most safely, and of fastning the odium of additaments so well upon the Reformed Churches, as these three instances you give. And I might here take an occasion to shew further how the Reformed Churches practised more safely on both hands then you, neither adding nor taking away, and so I might strongly retort this whole third principle of yours back upon you, but that may suffice I have already hinted of it.

Now for the third and last instance of your walking safely, but fastning additaments in Government and Discipline on the Reformed Churches, this being laid downe so largely as that it is a third part of your Book within a very little, beginning in the twelfth page, and continuing to the end of the one and twentieth page, containing in it many various things: I must therefore because of the intermixture of persons and things in this part of your Narration more then in any other, going forward and backward, up and downe, that I may let nothing escape of moment, I shall endeavour to draw out the severall ends of these twined threds and entangled discourse, and to winde them up upon their severall bottomes, by reducing this part of your Narrative to these following heads; whereon I may more distinctly fasten my answers, both for yours and the Readers better satisfaction.

1. You relate what the Reformed Churches do practise and allow, as also what our old Non-conformists granted, and what your selves allow and grant about a Church and the Government of it.

2. You relate what you disallow and are not satisfied in.

3. You couch some arguments and reasons for your owne way and practise, and against the practise of the Reformed Churches.

4. Your answer a common objection brought against your way, by laying downe the principles that you hold in such a case, as also by relating your practise

practise occasioned upon an offence committed in one of your Churches.

5. Upon this answer you make a comparison betwein the effectualnesse of your way in what you hold and practise, and what the Presbyterians hold, to reduce Churches and to compose differences: in which comparison you make the scales to fall on your side rather.

Now the Reader must expect here as in other passages of this Narration, generall, doubtfull, dark, partiall and reserved relations with mistating the questions which, in my answers I shall observe and point at all along.

To the first of these five heads, (wherein also are three particulars;) To the first of these concerning the Reformed Churches, namely, what they practise and allow: I answer, you should have done well to have instanced their practises, what were the greater matters governed in common by the Presbytery of severall Congregations, and what were the lesser matters wherein each particular Congregation was governed by their particular Elders; As also what were those cases wherein the Reformed Churches allow particular Congregations such an entire and compleat power to be exercised by the Elders within themselves, and wherein not; such a particular Narration would have carried in the face of it some ground for the difference of their practise and allowance, and might have served to have pointed out the differences betwein your way and theirs. But secondly, As you relate the way and Discipline of the Reformed Churches, it sounds somewhat harsh and strange that their practise should be one way and their judgements another, their practise to governe each particular Congregation by a combined Presbytery of the Elders of severall Congregations united in one for Government, and yet in their judgements to allow, especially in some cases *a particular Congregation and entire and compleat power of jurisdiction within it self:* Do they practise one way and allow another way, or do they hold both wayes the wayes of God, or what is it you meane in this Narration of those Churches, or can it be meant in the same sense and acception to practise one thing and yet allow another, or will you make the lesser matters practised in their particular Churches by their owne Elders to be the same with some cases, wherein they allow particular Congregations an entire and compleat power of jurisdiction within themselves: Now the latter, namely *in some cases*, cannot be meant, for then this last part is no more then the first, neither can your words of an entire compleat power of jurisdiction in the particular Congregations be meant of smaller matters, but of the greatest matters in some cases: You shall do well in your Reply, to english these lines about the difference of the Reformed Churches practises in greater matters, and their different judgements in some cases, and shew us to what sense they meane it, and whether it can be properly

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and truly alledged for your case of entire and compleat power in your Congregations. Thirdly, This which you here relate of the Reformed Churches practise and allowance is fallaciously set downe and for your owne advantage, meerly to make out this third principle, that you still chuse to practise safely, namely, what the Reformed Churches allowed and acknowledged warrantable, only they superadded Presbyteriall combinations, whereas the Reformed Churches do not, as you well know in the case and question controverted between them and you allow particular Congregations in a Kingdome and Nation, receiving the Reformed Religion to have an entire and compleat power of jurisdiction within themselves, what may be in some of their books in extrardinary or speciall cases, where there is but one particular Congregation in a Countrey or the like, that is nothing to the point in hand, it being laid for a common ground by them all, that every particular Church in a Nation or Kingdome is not to be left to it selfe, but that there is a necessity of a common Nationall Government to preserve all the Churches in unity and peace; And to clear the Reformed Churches of *France*, *Holland*, *Scotland* from what you say they allow, I do not finde in their books of Discipline and platformes of Church Government (by which we must judge of their judgements) nor in their practises, that they do allow an entire and compleat power to be exercised by the Elders of every congregation alone, either in the making or ordaining of Ministers, or in deposing their Ministers, or in drawing up a forme of Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline for themselves, they allow power of admonition, suspension from the Lords Supper, and of taking up lesser differences by the particular Eldership; and if I forget not, the Churches of *France* only, practise excommunication by the Elders in particular Congregations, without carrying it at first higher; but then if we consider that in those Churches of *France* their Elderships go upon certaine fixed rules in their excommunications laid downe in their books of Discipline (who if they proceed otherwise are liable to censure themselves) and their being appeales to Synods and Assemblies, and all being carried in reference and dependance to Assemblies, the case is very different: now if the Churches of your way and communion in old *England* and in New, would yeeld to have a Government fixt and setled by Synods and Assemblies; establisht also by the Magistrate, upon which Rules and Orders they should proceed in the way of making Ministers, and that such errors in doctrine and such evill manners, ought to be the subject of excommunication, and then agree upon appeales to Synods and Assemblies, then there would be lesse danger in such an entire and compleat power in particular Congregations.

Reformation of Church government in *Scotland*, cleared, pag. 18.

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To the second particular under this first head, namely what some of the old Non-conformists grant, *placing the power of excommunication in the Eldership of each particular Church untill they do miscarry, and then indeed subjecting them to Presbyteriall and Provinciall Assemblies, and that it could not be infallibly proved that any of the Churches recorded in the New Testament, were so numerous as necessarily to exceed the limits of one particular Congregation*: And that both the Ministers of the Reformed Churches and our Non-conformists, all granted *that there should be severall Elders in every Congregation, who had power over them in the Lord*: I answer as followes; For Master *Cartwright*, you not quoting which of his books you have reference to, and so not knowing which to turne to, to finde out what you assert of him, I shall not deny it; but as for Master *Baynes* Diocesans Tryall, (which is the only book I ever heard of, wherein he handles these points) he doth in the third question give the Ecclesiasticall power and the exercise of it to a united multitude of Presbyters, in which book, howsoever as intending his book against Diocesan Bishops and Diocesan Churches, to whom all Presbyters and Churches stand in subject and subordination, he pleads against them for the power of the particular Elders in the severall Congregations, yet as against the Reformed Churches practise, namely of a Presbyteriall Church consisting of many particular Congregations and ruled by the Elders of severall Congregations combined, he pleadeth not, but expressely in answer made to those two objections from the Churches and Elders where there is a co-ordination and a community in government, as in the Low-countries, and at *Geneva*, he grants the thing contended for against you: Congregationall way (even before miscarrying) and shewes the great difference between the Diocesan government and the Presbyteriall in severall particulars, and answers your objections which you commonly make of a forraigne extrinsicall power: And for your better satisfaction, read and compare together the passages in these pages of Master *Baynes* Diocesans Tryall, *page* 21. *page* 11. What is meant by a Diocesan Church, and in the twelfth page, two first conclusions agreed in, and in the sixteenth page: And for the Non-conformists in their writings against the Episcopall government and Diocesan Churches, though they put the Bishops their adversaries all they could to it, to make them prove infallibly and necessarily a particular Church to exceed the limits of one particular Congregation, yet they never intended it as against the Reformed Churches: Now you know the saying, *Authoris aliud agentis parva est authoritas*: But shew us where ever the old Non-conformists as against the Reformed Churches held so: it will appear by *Gerson Bucerus*, and by the practise of the Reformed Churches in *Geneva* and *Holland*, (for which Master *Robin-*

Dissert. de Gub. Eccles. pag. 11.

Robinson so objects against them in his Apologie) that though they were against the government of Bishops and Diocesan Churches (that is of a head Church over many Congregations united to it) yet not of a particular Church of such a City, consisting of many particular Congregations; And as for that you take for granted by all, that there should be severall Elders in every Congregation, it is denied you: For some Divines, as *Danæus* and *Cartwright* (as I remember) hold it not necessary for every small Congregation in Villages, but for Cities and more populous places to which the lesser Villages being conjoyned, have the benefit and support of all the Elders and Ministers in the exercising of government. As for that you say, *Others of them calling the combination of Churches* Ecclesiæ ortæ, *but particular Congregations* Ecclesiæ primæ, *as wherein firstly the power and priviledge of a Church is to be exercised* (that others was [a] Master *Parker*, who in his *Politia Ecclesiastica*, gives this indiction) and was the first who brought it up (as ever I read of) who differing from Master *Baynes* and other Non-conformists, and most Divines of the Reformed Churches in the subject of the power of the keyes, giving it to the [b] body of the Church, agreeing therein too much with you, no wonder he called particular Congregations *Ecclesiæ primæ*: But as he was mistaken in the first receptacle and subject of the power of the keyes, so he might be in his distinction of *Ecclesiæ primæ* and *ortæ*. For the first Churches, namely that of *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, with others, were not particular Congregations, but Churches consisting of many Congregations, severall meeting places; some preaching in one place, and others in other places, but governed by the Elders in common, which City Churches were the first Churches still first planted by the Apostles, and particular Congregations in Villages were *Ecclesiæ ortæ* (the City Churches in this sence being the mothers and the particular congregations rather the daughters) the full proofe and demonstration whereof I referre to a tractate I intend about the nature of the visile Church. But by what I have answered upon this head the Reader may observe there is not all granted, which you took for granted from the Reformed Churches, and the Non-conformists, and what is yeelded flowes from another spring, and is upon another ground writing against Diocesan Bishops (quite another controversie) but otherwise even when Non-conformists have come to write against the Separation, and upon the nature of a visible Church (as Master *Ball* [a]) they hold the contrary: And for learned men of other Churches (even when they writ against

Robinl. *Apol. c. 1. de Eccles. amplitudine.*

a *Polit. Ecclesiast.* l. 3. c. 13 & c. 12.

b *Polit. Eccles.* l. 3. c. 1.

a *Balls* friendly tryall of separation.

Episcopacie) yet they were farre from holding that a particular visible Church was only a particular congregation* (*as Gerſom Bucerus* in his answer to Dr *Downham*) *a particular Church is any company of beleevers conjoyned in the observation of holy ordinances and united to one Presbyterie, keeping their meetings in one or more places: For the number of Parishes in which they meet is a thing accidentall being nothing at all to the essence of a particular Church.* And even the Non-conformists you speak of, as it appeares by the wary expressions your selves use of them, namely *infallibly and necessarily* do even give the cause: For that is (as you imply) the Non-conformists in their answers could not deny but probably the number of beleevers were so numerous as to exceed the limits of one particular congregation in those first times, though not *infallibly* and rationally, though not *necessarily*: Now in points of externall order and government which depend upon the story, and circumstances of time and place, how many things are there practised, but of presumption, though not of certainty, and though they cannot be infallibly and necessarily proved, so as to stop all mouthes, and all that the wit of man can possibly finde out, yet if the things asserted can be but probably proved upon better reasons then the contrary, we may incline to that as to the fitter part: How many practises and tenants have you in your Church-way that cannot be infallibly and necessarily proved, but stronger answers may be and are given to the reasons you bring for them, then any the Non-conformists could give to that instance of the Church of *Jerusalem*, and yet you hold to your principles for all that; and it is a rule hath been pleaded by some of you, that in things of that nature where the Scripture is not expresse, but holds them out most probably though not *infallibly* and *necessarily*, yet we ought to encline to that: As for Master *Baynes* answer (though directed against Diocesan Bishops and Diocesan Churches) to that instance of the Church of *Jerusalem*, it is no whit satisfactory nor concluding to any man, who is of another judgement, as the Reader may read in the 15. .and 16. page of the *Diocesse Tryall*.

To the third particular under the first head, namely, what you allow and grant about a Church and the Government, that you *could not but imagine that the first Churches planted by the Apostles, were ordinarily of no more in one Citie at the first then might make up one entire Congregation, ruled by their own Elders that also preached to them*, and that you *could not but judge it a safe*

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* *Gerſom Bucerus Diſſert. de Gub. Eccleſ. p.* 11. *Nos particularem Eccleſiam intelligimus quemlibet credentium cetum in unam vocationem divinam Evangelii prædicatione ſacramentique inſtitutionum obſervatione adunatum, ac uni Presbyterio ſubjunctum, ſacros vero conventus uno aut pluribus locis agitantem. Nam Paræciarum in quibus convenitur numerus accidentaria res eſt, nihil ad Eccleſiæ particularis eſſentiam pertinens.*

and as allowed may retain the government of your severall Congregations for matter of discipline within themselves to be exercised by their own Elders, &c. In way of answer I must first complaine of your old fault, the slippery and uncertaine expressions used in the relation of what you own and allow about a Church in those phrases, *the first Churches ordinarily* and *at first*. I demand the reason of you, why you put in *ordinarily* and *at first*, was it not because you fore-saw the Church of *Jerusalem* and some few others recorded in the New-Testament, though not in the first Chapter of the *Acts*, and at the beginning yet would at last by the eighth of the *Acts* and *Acts* 21. amount to more then could meet in one Congregation, and therefore you expresst it so. Is this faire dealing, or what other reason can you give for using such doubtfull expressions: the question is not between you and us, whether all the Churches and most of the Churches, or whether at first, and in the beginning of them they consisted of no more in one City, then to make up one Congregation, but whether the Scriptures in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* and *Epistles*, be it first or last, sooner or later gives any patterne or example of a particular Church, exceeding the number of them, who may ordinarily meet together in one place for the worshiping of God, and sanctification of the Lords day, which if it can be proved, overthrowes Master *Robinsons*, Master *Cottons* definitions of Churches and your principles, who all keep to this as to a foundation upon which is built many of your other practises: For we know at first the Church of *Jerusalem*, and other Churches were not more numerous then to exceed the limits of one particular Congregation, neither could it be expected that all should come in at first, and we know for many other Churches the Scriptures do not so particularly relate the growth and accessions of them: But if any one instance can be given, it is not materiall whether first or last, sooner or later, whether in the beginning, middle, or end of the story for then your Positions and assertions of a particular visible Church are overthrowne, for one affirmative overthrowes a universall negative. And I aske of you whether you take *ordinarily* here as opposed to extraordinary, or take *ordinarily*, for commonly as opposed to rarely and seldome; now if you meane it in the first sence, that the Church of *Jerusalem* and other Churches that may be instanced in, their case was extraordinary, and though the Apostles suffered them to grow so ranke and numerous, yet we may not do so now: I desire to know of you then, what is become of your first generall rule the *Primitive patterns of Churches erected by the Apostles*, and I desire to know what rule you walke by, and whether the first constituted Church of all were not likely to be the patterne for constituted Churches, seeing *Primum in unoquoque genere est regula & mensura reliquorum*. But if you meane ordinarily in the second

sence, as that there is but one only instance, the most if not all other Churches were otherwise; that you see will not by what I have above written help you, besides what even you can probably alleadge that the Churches of these times should be conformed to such Churches, which consisted of no greater number then to make one particular Congregation, I will give more and better why the Churches of a Nation and Kingdome should be conformed to that of *Jerusalem*; As for those phrases of yours, which you bring in by way of caution and clearing the way of your government within your selves, *that you claime not an Independent power to give no account or be subject to none others, but only a full and entire power compleat within your selves, untill you shall be challenged to erre grossely.* Whilest in these first lines you deny Independent power in words, yet in your latter words you grant it, claiming *a full and entire power compleat within your selves*, which is Independent power, and is the full sence of that which hath been fasten'd on you by us; and I will shew it more fully in the proper place; when I come to the 23. page (especially if you take upon you to enjoy it so long, *untill you shall be challenged to erre grossely*) I had thought it had been enough upon your being challenged to erre to have given an account, but be like it must be erring grossely (I suspect something lyes under this, as under many other of your phrases, whereby you evade and hide your selvs, stating points wrongfully) Pray what do you account erring grossely, and whether do you judge any thing erring grossely in your particular Churches, but such kinds of sins in manners, and such kind of opinions as are against the Churches known light, and the common received practises and principles of Christianity professed by the Churches themselves and universally acknowledged in all the rest of the Churches, and no other sinnes to be the ground of giving an account (as they are not of Excommunication with you, page 9.) (both being of equall latitude, sinnes of particular persons to a Church, and the sinnes of a particular Church to a Community of Churches) and if that be your meaning you shall be Independent enough. And then further I demand of you, how you can use those phrases of not claiming a power to be *subject to none others*: I confesse you may better use those words of giving account, holding, counselling and advising by sister-Churches, but as for that phrase of subjecting to *none others*; I understand it not, what censure will your Churches subject unto from other Churches, will they yeeld to the deposition of their Ministers, Excommunication of their members, *&c.* or wow can there be any subjection to other Churches in your principles (the phrase being taken properly and usually) when as all along you plead against authoritative Presbyteriall power, so oft expresst in page 15, 16. and is the great point in controversie in this instance betwixt you and the Presbyterians:

ans: How oft do you deny the ſubjection of a particular Church to all other Churches, and are againſt all ſubjecting to cenſures, yea to be *ſubjected* as to counſell and advices from the other Churches. As to that phraſe, *your own Elders, whereof you had three at leaſt in each Congregation whom you were ſubject to*, in which you ſeem to hold out the government and power of the Church to lie in the Elders, and not in the body of the Congregation, I deſire you to ſatisfie me in this point, whether all of you hold the power and authority to be in the Elders or in the Church, and whether by *goe tell the Church* is meant, tell the Elders or the body of the Congregation, and whether according to the principles of the Church-way in Maſter *Robinſons* workes, and the books of *New-England*, and Maſter *Bridges* own letter (unleſſe ſome of you have lately ſeen another light) you might have truly written three Elders at leaſt in every Congregation to whom the Congregations were ſubject, or elſe three Elders who were ſubject to their own Congregations: and this ſhall ſuffice for anſwer to the firſt head of the five concerning the third Inſtance.

Mr *Bridges* letter to Mr *Toſt*, Mr *Smith*, Mr *Henry King*, &c. The keyes were given to the whole Church, unleſſe wee ſay they were given to *Peter* only and his ſucceſſors: ſearch the Scriptures and ſee if you can find any place, where any body or particular Church is ſubject to one man or officer.

To the ſecond head under this third inſtance, what you are not ſatisfied in nor cannot allow. 1. About particular viſible Churches, *That you could not imagine in every City where the Apoſtles came, the number of the converts did or ſhould ariſe to ſuch a multitude as to make ſeverall and ſundry Congregations.*

2. About the government of it, *That it ſhould be the inſtitution of Chriſt or his Apoſtles, that the combination of the Elders of many Churches ſhould be the firſt compleat and entire ſeat of Church power over each Congregation ſo combined, or that they could challenge and aſſume that authority over thoſe Churches they teach not*, &c. In both theſe you deale fallaciouſly and relate the controverſie to your advantage and our diſadvantage. For the firſt, whereas had you dealt ingeniouſly your words ſhould have been theſe, for that in any City, where the Apoſtles came the number of converts did or ſhould ariſe to ſuch a multitude as to make ſeveral and ſundry Congregations, you put it *in every City*, which we affirme not, nor need not to carry the cauſe againſt you, for if wee can prove it in ſome Cities, or in any Cities that the number of converts did ariſe to ſuch a multitude, as to make ſeverall and ſundry Congregations, then we prove the Scripture holds out a Presbyteriall Claſſicall Church, and overthrow youn grand principle about a particular Church: And Reader obſerve the fallacie of theſe Apologiſts, how in the manner of their expreſſion, and as they propound it, though the thing may be true, yet they alter quite

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the state of the Question. For though in every City, where the Apostles came, you could not imagine the number of converts should be so great nor we neither, yet in some Cities you might have well imagined it, as in *Jerusalem* and *Rome*. But Brethren, why will you who are Schollars, and without question weighed well all your words and manner of expressions, having so many heads in the framing this Apologie, deale thus with the Reader in a Narration; I speak truly, though you did not imagine the number of converts were so many in every City, yet did not you imagine the number might be so great in some Cities, as in *Jerusalem*; and if still you will not imagine it, for the helping of your imagination, consider whether you have not more reason (if not infallible and necessary, yet probable and rationall) to imagine the Church of *Jerusalem* consisting of so many thousands of people, and having so many Ministers to preach unto them, as twelve Apostles besides the seventy Disciples, and they meeting in so many distinct houses, and not having the power and command of any publike large place or liberty (through those times) to fit it for such multitudes to hear the word, joyne in prayer and Sacraments, should have severall and sundry Congregations rather then to imagine all those should make but one standing Congregation to meet in one place and roome.

1. It is stated otherwise, carried higher then need be granted, and that in all your expressions of it, for the Scriptures may hold forth a combination of the Elders of many Churches for government and yet not be the *Institution of Christ or his Apostles*: It may be allowed and agreeable to the word, have a *jus divinum permissivum* upon generall rules of the word, and according to the rules of the law of nature and of Prudence, yea and may have some examples of it, and yet not amount to a divine Institution, many who hold the thing will not in those phrases own it.

2. These Elders of many Congregations may have a power of Government in common over all, and yet not be the first seat of Church-power; for it is not denied but some particular Congregations, having a competent number of Presbyters, both have and may exercise Church-power, before any such combination is, or can be.

3. These Elders combined may have Church-power to rule these Congregations so combined, and yet not have a compleat and entire seat of Church-power, but a power liable to appeals unto Synods and generall Assemblies. The question between you and us is whether Classes or Presbyteries have power in Ecclesiasticall matters, as Ordination, Excommunication, *&c.* within the number of Congregations so combined, or may by warrant from the word exercise any power in Church matters, but in their own particular con-

Congregations; the queſtion is not, whether it be the Inſtituion of Chriſt or his Apoſtles that the combination of the Elders of many Churches ſhould be the firſt compleat and entire ſeat of Church-power: As you ſtate it, you ſtrangely miſtake the queſtion to lay it down in theſe words, *That the combination of the Elders of many Churches ſhould be the firſt ſeat of Church-power over each Congregation ſo combined*, whereas the opinion of the Reformed Churches is quite contrary, not holding Claſſes and Synods to be the firſt ſubject of Church-power, from whence it is conſequently derived and conferred upon particular Churches, but that particular Congregations having power in themſelves and amongſt themſelves equall power, do in Claſſes and Synods conferre and execute in common their own power, even as thoſe who are colleagues and equall members of ſome politicall ſocietie.

4. The power which particular Officers, and Presbyters of combined congregations may have over particular members of thoſe Churches they teach not ordinarily, doth not amount to the challenging and aſſuming an authority over thoſe Churches they feed and teach not; your expreſſion is a miſtake, it is not an aſſuming a power and authority by ſome over other Churches, but it is a power of the whole, and of themſelves too, even thoſe particular Churches in their Officers over particular members; as in the Parliament no member hath power over another, more then another over him, but the whole hath power over all the particulars; for the clearing of which, the Commiſſioners of the Church of *Scotland* ſpeak fully in their Reformation of Church-government in *Scotland* cleared, *page* 24,25. And for the cloſe of this ſecond head, wherein you ſtand upon what you are not ſatisfied in but diſallow, if you would impartially conſider that the Scriptures in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* and *Epiſtles*, do as well hold our grounds, yea and more indubitable (as I ſhall make evident in a particular Tractate of the viſible Church) that the firſt particular Churches planted by the Apoſtles conſiſted of more congregations, and diſtinct meeting places, then of one only congregation, you will acknowledge that where there are many Presbyters to feed and rule, and many more Chriſtians living in a vicinity, then can meet in one place, it is not the moſt ſafe and allowed way to retaine the government of each congregation thus within themſelves, neither that it is an additament in the Reformed Churches to practiſe ſo, but rather an additament on their part, who living in a City where the number of beleevers are ſo numerous as to make many meeting places, there to make theſe places and perſons ſuch diſtinct Churches as to manage all things each one within themſelves, and not to grow into one for government. And I am ſo farre verſed in theſe controverſies, that I challenge you five to give me an example of any City where it is probable the mul-

multitude of beleevers were so numerous as to make many meeting places, that ever they were governed and ruled but in common, or ever called Churches but Church, still called the Church of *Corinth*, and the Church of *Jerusalem*: I fore-see only one Instance that can be probably alledged, that in *Rom.* 16. 1. *Of the Church which is at* Cenchrea, which *Cenchrea* was a part of *Corinth* and neer to *Corinth*, yet named a Church as well as the Church of *Corinth*, but the insufficiency of that ground I shall at large shew in that Tractate of the visible Church; which Primitive practise hath so farre wrought with some of the Reformed Churches, as those of *Holland*, that in great Cities where the number of their people are so many as they cannot meet in one place, but have more meeting places, yet in imitation of the Scriptures (giving that ground to some who have askt them a reason) they make City Churches but one, and the Ministers are Ministers in common of them all, preaching in their courses in the severall meeting places, and governed in common, and this they do to keep neareſt to Apostolicall practise; whereas now in the country where villages are, and the meetings are scattered, they do not all preach to all: And to adde this further, to shew your unsafe way of practising in the way of your particular congregations, over the Reformed Churches and our Churches in *England*, your congregations (as in *London*) where the meeting place is, and the Ministers reside, is made up of members, as of some living in *London*, so of some in *Surry*, *Middlesex*, *Hartfordshire*, *Essex*, where they have *fixum domicilium* being twenty miles asunder, and many members meeting but sometimes in a Moneth, where neither Ministers can over-see them, nor members watch over one another, not knowing what the conversation of each other is (which yet are brought as the maine grounds for your Church-fellowship) which non-residencie of the members from one another, and of the Officers from so many of the members, whether it overthrow not and be not point blank against many of your principles of the Church-way, I leave to your selves to judge? Besides that it is without any Primitive patterne and example of the Churches erected by the Apostles, the Churches being still stiled according to the places where they lived and met, as in *Rom.* 1. 7. *To all that be in* Rome, *beloved of God, called to be Saints*: And so in the Epistles to the *Corinthians*: *To the Church of God which is at Corinth*. And I desire you to give me any Primitive patterne of any who belonged to the Church of *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Jerusalem*, (that is, were standing members of those Churches) who lived and inhabited ten miles, twenty, five miles, *&c.* round about those Cities, so that we find here in this third instance, namely in the government and discipline of the Churches, as well as in the first instance in the qualification of your members, that the additament is on your sides and not on the reformed Churches.

To

To the third head, namely the reasons couched and hinted for your owne practise and against the practise and way of the Reformed Churches: to the first reason I answer, as the relating of the state of the questions was not proper; so this argument hinted here is not properly expressed, for there might be such a Presbyteriall Church and Government as is maintained against you, namely but two or three distinct meeting places, and yet not Churches, *rising to such a numerous multiplication, nor Apostles staying to the setting up of Churches untill they rose to such a numerous multiplication.* But pray what do you meane by those expressions? *We did not imagine*, but might you not? or could you not have imagined it, though you did not nor would not; and what by this, *that the Apostles should stay the setting up of any Churches at all, untill they rose to make such a numerous multiplication as might make such a Presbyteriall combination.* Do you carry the words in reference only to that numerous multiplication? or simply and positively, that the Apostles did not stay so long in any City as to *set up any Churches at all?* Now if you will have your words interpreted in the first sense, then judge how improper the speech and Narration of your mind is, for then it should have gone thus, that the Apostles should stay the setting up of so many Churches untill they rose to *such a numerous multiplication*, for the denying *the setting up of any Churches* and *at all*, agree not with the following words, *untill they rose to such a numerous multiplication*; the former being a diminitive, nay a negative, and cannot agree to such an augmentative as the latter, besides your first words carried in reference to the following, have no strength to prove what you bring them for, namely what you allowed and practised, or what you disallowed; for though the Apostles should not stay so long as the setting up so many Churches as might arise to such a numerous multiplication of severall and sundry congregations, yet there might be such a Presbyteriall classicall Church, a Church consisting of more then could meet in one place, which is the controversie between us: But if you understand your words simply and positively, that the Apostles did not stay the setting up of any Churches at all, I desire you to remember your owne principles and expressions in many books and discourses of your way, that the Apostles were the founders of the first Churches, as at *Corinth*, *Rome*, and for *Jerusalem* especially, (which is the particular Church we most stand upon) the Apostles staid long enough there, to set up not only *any Churches at all*, but many to make *such a Presbyteriall combination* as is stood for, as will appeare, both by *Acts* 8. *Acts* 15. *Acts* 21. and it is the judgement of Master *Robinson*, that *Jerusalem* was never without some of the Apostles there (which the two first chapters of the *Galathians*

give a strong ground for,) besides the many Presbyters that belonged thereunto; And so for the Church of *Ephesus*, *Paul* stayed at one time in those parts three yeeres together, long enough to make so many Churches as might make a Presbyteriall combination; which that of the Acts chap. 20. verse 17, 18, 25, 28, 29, 31. do give hints enough for, if the nature of an Answer to a Narration would permit to draw them out at length. To the second reason hinted, that those precepts, *Obey your Elders and them that are over you*, were to be sure meant of the Pastors and Teachers set over them in each particular Congregation respectively, and so be as certainly the intendment of the holy Ghost, as in those commands, *Wives obey your owne husbands*, &c. I answer, that in Scripture a particular Church consisting of more congregations then one, and the Ministers and Elders feeding them and governing them in common (as at *Jerusalem*, and as it is in the Low-countries, in Cities there, as at *Amsterdam*, &c.) all the Ministers and Elders are their owne Ministers and Elders, as the husbands are the owne of their wives, and those Scriptures are to be understood of all their Pastors and Ministers, and not of some onely, or in respect of some, and not of the rest, and it is as certainly the intendment of the holy Ghost (as in that command, *Wives obey your owne husbands*,) that obey your Elders, &c. be meant not of some but of them all. 2. In Churches by their combination consisting of many congregations where ordinarily some Pastors and Teachers feed some congregations and not the rest, Ministers being fixed, some to that congregation, and others to other congregations, yet there being a government in common by all the Presbyters of those congregations in all weighty matters and greater cases that fall out, those *precepts of obey your Elders and them that are over you*, reach to all the Elders as well as to those that particularly and ordinarily preach to them, and however it is true such places are especially understood of them, yet not of them only, and alone, as excluding others, as your argument carried it, but including others who are over them too: And to answer you by your owne instance given of servants, obey your owne governours, as by vertue of that text, particular servants are to obey their owne Masters, so by the same text each particular servant and all of them together of such a Company and Hall, in the things and rules of their calling for the publike good of that Society) they are to obey and be subject to the whole Company, namely the particular masters of other servants as to their owne masters, yea and to submit to the common Orders and good Rules of such a Hall and Corporation though their particular Masters do not Vote for but against them. 3. Those Rules who are of the Presbytery are not forraigne nor extrinsicall to the congre-

congregations, but intrinsicall and naturall as well as their particular Elders, so that another without themselves doth not beare rule over them, but all of them together by common consent do rule every one, which is a most mild and free form of Church Government, for the proof of which I shall not enlarge but referre you for satisfaction to what is said to this point, both by the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland*, and by some Churches from beyond the seas, in their Letters upon occasion of your Apologie. 4. It

Reformation of Church government cleared, p. 25

is a fallacious way of reasoning from the œconomicall relations and government of husbands over wives, and fathers over children, and masters over servants, and their subjection and obedience to husbands, &c. unto the Ecclesiasticall and Politicall, because it is not to speak *ad idem*, for in each of these the way of government is different: for instance in those œconomicall relations a woman can have but one husband, one man can be but her husband, and one man a father, and the wife and child cannot relinquish them, disavow them though very bad, nor deny those duties they owe them in those relations though censured by the Church, but they are to obey them, which yet holds not in the members of a particular congregation to Elders and Ministers that are unworthy and excommuncated, that the members must be subject to them. The Royalists that argue so from that subjection and obedience which children owe their fathers, to subjects subjection and obedience to Princes; and the Hierachicall men, that argue from what children owe to naturall parents though wicked and ungodly, to what the people owe to wicked Ministers, are answered at large, and you know what Master *Robinson* and many of your way say to that: Now the same will serve to answer your comparisons, that the places hold not alike between the people and the Elders, and the wives and their husbands: Master *Raynes* answers in the last page of his *Diocesans Tryall*, that which is objected touching Pastors and Fathers: That the similitude holds not in all things, parents and sheapheards, are absolutely parents and sheapheards, be they good or evill; but spirituall parents are no longer so then they do accordingly behave themselves. 5. The very instances you give of *wives obey your owne husbands, and servants your owne governours*, doth not therefore only tye them to civill subjection and obedience to husbands and masters, exempting them from subjection to any others, but they are subject to the Magistrates in the Common-wealth and to common-Lawes notwithstanding, so neither doth the Scriptures *obey your Elders, &c.* (supposing the full latitude of those Scriptures were of the Elders of particular Congregations) forbid or exempt men from that Ecclesiasticall subjection and obedience which concernes them as they stand in relation to the community.

To the third Reason hinted for your selves, and against the Reformed Churches, that the Elders of other congregations should have power and rule over Churches, which they do not teach and feed ordinarily, by vertue of those forementioned precepts, was to you a question, &c. I answer, Suppose three or four congregations in one great Town, should have Ministers in common to teach and feed them ordinarily (as in *Holland*) would you in such a case yeeld to a Presbyteriall combination, if you say you would, then the case is determined for us, and thus I judge it was in the *Acts of the Apostles* in Primitive Churches, but if you answer you would not yeeld to such a Classicall government, then I reply, 'tis not for want of such Ministers teaching you and feeding ordinarily that you will not obey, but upon some other ground, and then this argument is lost: Secondly, I answer, your ruling Elders do not feed nor teach you ordinarily, but only governe you; and yet by vertue of those forementioned precepts you obey them, and are subject to them, so that this is no good argument against the lawfulnesse of having power and authority over those whom men teach not ordinarily; for then what becomes of the ruling Elders in the Church, who are neither Pastors nor Teachers.

To the fourth Reason drawn from *Corporations, who have the power and privileges of life and death within themselves*, which kind of power you would have. I answer, you cannot frame a good argument from Corporations and civill power, to bodies Ecclesiasticall, and spirituall power, and I might give you the many differences alledged by your selves between civill power, and Ecclesiasticall, and the different manner of dispensation, but I must not enlarge here, only referre you for this to [a] Master *Robinson*, [b] Master *Burroughs*, and [c] Doctor *Ames*. 2. Corporations go according to the Lawes of the Land, and to their Charters agreed upon, and made in Parliaments, they make not themselves a Corporation, nor go not according to private rules and orders to passe sentence of death, &c. but are ruled (though they have Officers, as Major and Aldermen) by the Lawes of the Land, and so going, they may more safely have a power within themselves: but your particular congregations set up your selves without leave of Magistrates or Ministers, not proceeding upon common rules of government in sentences of Excommunication, &c. agreed by Synods, but only upon your owne wills, and private rules which you have fancied are laid downe in Scripture. 3. Corporations though they judge their members, and passe sentence of life and death within themselves, yet sometimes, nay often in greater cases and offen-

[a] *Robinsons* Justification of Separation. [b] Mr. *Burroughs* on *Hosea*, seventh Lecture, *p.* 174. If we consider the difference between Ecclesiasticall power and civill power, we shall see it clear that there cannot be a ministeriall head of the Church. [c] *Ames. Med. Theol.*

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ces, their inhabitants are tried, and sentences passed upon them in other Courts of Justice, and that when they would proceed against them, yet the matter is carried higher to be tried. If you would grant this in the Corporall-ons to your congregations, that Assemblies and Synods might judge and passe sentence upon your members (as oft as they see just ground) the controversie were at an end. 4. The Corporations (that is those in place and power) if they proceed unjustly, are accountable to the State they live in, that is to a higher civill power, and adjudged themselves in cases of wrong, condemning the innocent, suffering delinquents to escape, but your Corporations of particular congregations even in case of male Administration, are against all judging and all Ecclesiastical Authoritative power out of your own congregations.

To the fifth Reason hinted by you to strengthen your practise that it was safe and allowed, and the Reformed Churches more questionable, namely appealing *to them who have read books, whether much hath been written with strength, fully and directly to prove that government*, but rather to overthrow *Episcopall*, and to maintaine *those severall Officers in Churches which Christ hath instituted*, and therefore you inferre you might have more ground to question this government *of combined Classicall Presbyteriall government*. I answer, the ground of that is fully laid downe in the Reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, page 17. and 18. with an account of what hath been written and done by the Reformed Churches in *France* for the Presbyterial way, and against the popular Independent way (which is more then you once in this Reason hinted) but suppose that in former writings of *Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, Peter Martyr, Daneus, Junius, Zepperus, Gerson Bucerus*, Doctor *Reynold, Parker*, there hath not been much fully and directly insisted on, and with strength to prove the government of Synods and Classes (though in some of these more especially, as against the Church of *Rome*, and Episcopall government, much strength is brought for the government by Synods and Classes) yet that which those Divines of *Scotland, Holland, England*, have written of late against the Independent congregationall government, might have been enough to have satisfied you, and thats not materiall that no more have written, seeing out of the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established; and if these books had not strength to satisfie you, why have not you all this while answered them? but I must minde you of forgetting one of your owne Divines; for besides the learned Licensers book against Independencie, another book was written, call'd *Reasons against the Independent government of particular Congregations, and the Toleration of them in this Kingdome*: which book in your seeming to take no notice of, I beleeve you remember above the rest, and in the 25. page of your *Apologie*, it appears you remember it, but the Au-

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thour of it beside is none of your Divines. And in the close now of this answer to your Reasons hinted about the government and discipline of the Church, why you in your Congregationall way should be in the truth, but the Presbyteriall government was a question to you and judged an additament, because the Presbyterians *allowed* you what you practised, and granted what you held, but themselves held and practised over and above; I answer, this is no Argument at all, for by the same reason the *Samaritans* should have worshipped God truly, but the *Jewes* falsely, and the *Samaritans* might have said to the *Jewes* as you do to the Presbyterians; the five books of *Moses* which we own to be sure they are from God, you acknowledge them, but for the books of the Prophets, thats question which rests upon you that allow what we hold, to make evident and demonstrate: and so the *Jewes* may now by the same reason speak against the Christians, and say, we are in the safer way, to be sure we practise safely, for you Christians confesse what we hold, namely *Moses* and the Prophets to be the Scriptures, but for the new Testament that is to us a question and an additament, which therefore rests upon you Christians to make good, who believe and practise over and above us.

Apolog. *And whereas the common prejudice and exception laid into all mens thoughts against us, and our opinions is, that in such a Congregationall government thus entire within it self, there is no allowed sufficient remedy for miscarriages, though never so grosse; no relief for wrongfull sentences or persons injured thereby; no means for complaints; no powerfull or effectuall meanes to reduce a Church or Churches that fall into heresie schisme, &c. but every one is left and may take liberty without controule to do what is good in their own eyes; we have (through the good providence of God upon us) from the avowed declarations of our judgements among our Churches mutually during our exile, and that also confirmed by the most solemne instance of our practise, wherewith to vindicate our selves and way in this particular, which upon no other occasion we should ever have made thus publike.*

God so ordered it that a scandall and offence fell out between those very Churches whilst living in this banishment (whereof we our selves, that write these things, were then the Ministers) one of our Churches having unhappily deposed one of their Ministers, the other judged it not only as too sudden an act (having proceeded in a matter of so great moment without consulting their sister Churches, as was publikely professed we should have done in such cases of concernment) but also in the proceedings thereof as too severe, and not managed according to the rules laid down in the word. In this case our Churches did mutually and universally acknowledge and submit to this as a setled and undoubted principle and supreame law to be observed among all Churches, that as by vertue of that Apostolicall

command,

command, Churches as well as particular men are bound to give no offence neither to Jew nor Gentile, nor the Churches of God they live amongst; So that in all cases of such offence or difference, by the obligation of the common Law of communion of Churches, and for the vindication of the glory of Christ, which in common they hold forth, the Church or Churches challenged to offend or differ, are to submit themselves (upon the challenge of the offence or complaint of the person wronged) to the most full and open trial and examination by other neighbour Churches offended thereat, of what ever hath given the offence: And further that by vertue of the same and like law of not partaking in other mens sinnes, the Churches offended may and ought upon the impenitencie of those Churches, persisting in their errour and miscarriage to pronounce that heavy sentence against them, of withdrawing and renouncing all Christian communion with them untill they do repent; And further to declare and protest this, with the causes thereof, to all other Churches of Christ, that they may do the like.

And what further authority, or proceedings purely Ecclesiasticall, of one, or many sister Churches, towards another whole Church, or Churches offending, either the Scriptures do hold forth, or can rationally be put in execution (without the Magistrates interposing a power of another nature, unto which we upon his particular cognisance, and examination of such causes, professe ever to submit, and also to be most willing to have recourse unto) for our parts we saw not then, nor do yet see. And likewise we did then suppose, and do yet, that this principle of subvvission of Churches that miscarrie unto other Churches offended, together with this other, that it is a command from Christ enjoyned to Churches that are finally offended, to pronounce such a sentence of non-communion and withdrawing from them whilest impenitent, as unworthy to hold forth the Name of Christ, (those principles being received and generally acknowledged by the Churches of Christ to be a mutuall duty, as strictly enjoyned them by Christ as any other) that these would be as effectuall meanes (through the blessing of Christ) to save and preserve Churches and their Elders in their duties, as that other of claime to an authoritative power Ecclesiasticall to excommunicate other Churches or their Elders offending; for if the one be compared with the other, in a meere Ecclesiasticall notion, that of Excommunication pretended hath but this more in it, That it is a delivering of whole Churches, and their Elders offending unto Satan, (for which we know no warrant in the Scriptures, that Churches should have such a power over other Churches.) And then as for the binding obligation both of the one way and the other, it can be supposed to lye but in these two things; First, In a warrant and injunction given by Christ to his Churches, to put either the one or the other into execution: And secondly, That mens consciences be accordingly taken therewith, so as to subject themselves whether

ther unto the one way or the other: For suppose that other principle of an authoritative power in the greater part of Churches combined to excommunicate other Churches, &c. to be the ordinance of God, yet unlesse it do take hold of mens consciences, and be received amongst all Churches, the offending Churches will sleight all such excommunications as much, as they may be supposed to do our way of protestation and sentence of non-communion. On the other side, let this way of ours be but as strongly entertained, as that which is the way and command of Christ, and upon all occasions be heedfully put in execution, it will awe mens consciences as much, and produce the same effects. And if the Magistrates power (to which we give as much, and (as we think) more, then the principles of the Presbyteriall government will suffer them to yeeld) do but assist and back the sentence of other Churches denouncing this non-communion against Churches miscarrying, according to the nature of the crime, as they judge meet, and as they would the sentence of Churches excommunicating others Churches in such cases, upon their owne particular judgement of the cause; then, without all controversie this our way of Church proceeding will be every way as effectuall as their other can be supposed to be; and we are sure, more brotherly and more suited to that liberty and equality Christ hath endowed his Churches with, but without the Magistrates interposing their authority, their way of proceeding will be as ineffectuall as ours; and more liable to contempt, by how much it is pretended to be more authoritative; and to inflict a more dreadfull punishment, which carnall spirits are seldome sensible of. This for our judgements.

And for a reall evidence and demonstration both that this was then our judgements, as likewise for an instance of the effectuall successe of such a course held by Churches in such cases, our owne practise, and the blessing of God thereon, may plead and testifie for us to all the world. The manage of this transaction in brief was this. That Church which (with others) was most scandalized, did by Letters declare their offence, requiring of the Church (supposed to be) offending in the Name, and for the vindication of the honour of Christ, and the relieving the party wronged, to yeeld a full and publike hearing before all the Churches of our Nation, or any other whomsoever offended, of what they could give in charge against their proceedings in that deposition of their Minister, and to subject themselves to an open triall and review of all those forepassed carriages that concerned that particular; which they most chearfully and readily (according to the forementioned principles) submitted unto, in a place, and State where no outward violence or any other externall authority either civill or Ecclesiasticall, would have enforced them thereunto: And accordingly the Ministers of the Church offended with other two

Gentle-

Gentlemen, of much worth, wisdome and piety, members thereof, were sent as messengers from that Church, and at the introduction and intrance into that solemne assembly (the solemnity of which hath left as deep an impression upon our hearts of Christs dreadfull presence as ever any we have been present at,) it was openly and publikely professed in a speech that was the preface to that discussion, to this effect, that it was the most to be abhorred maxime that any Religion hath ever made profession of, and therefore of all other the most contradictory and dishonourable unto that of Christianity that a single and particular society of men professing the Name of Christ, and pretending to be endowed with a power from Christ to judge them that are of the same body and society within themselves, should further arrogate unto themselves an exemption from giving account or being censurable by any other, either Christian Magistrates above them, or neighbour Churches about them. So farre were our judgements from that Independent liberty that is imputed to us, then, when we had least dependency on this Kingdome, or so much as hopes ever to abide therein in peace. And for the issue and successe of this agitation, after there had beene for many dayes as judiciary and full a charge, tryall and deposition of witnesses openly afore all commers of all sorts, at two be expected in any Court where authority enjoynes it, that Church, which had offended, did as publikely acknowledge their sinfull aberration in it, restored their Minister to his place againe, and ordered a solemne day of fasting to humble themselves afore God and men, for their sinfull carriage in it, and the party also which had been deposed did acknowledge to that Church wherein he had likewise sinned.

In this part of your *Apologie* are contained the fourth and fifth of those five forementioned heads, unto which I referred all I should answer to what you say upon your third and last instance about the Government and Discipline in the Churches: The scope of which fourth head is, to answer and take off a common objection brought against your way; the strength of which answer is made up of these parts, and stands in these particulars. First, In laying downe your owne principles which you hold in such a case. Secondly, Your practise according to those principles, occasioned upon an offence committed in one of your Churches (which story you briefly relate.) Thirdly, The successe and effectualnesse of your practise according to your principles, illustrated by an instance.

Now for that common exception laid into all mens thoughts against your congregationall way, it's both a just and strong Argument against it, and that which many of your way, when it hath been objected to them have

confessed, there is no remedy nor help in such cases, but advice and counsell, all must be left to Christ, Christ will take care of his owne way, they had not found out this allowed sufficient remedy for miscarriages which you have here propounded, but I shall labour to make evident, that all you bring by way of answer in declaration of your judgements and practise doth not satisfie this objection. And first for your judgements in the principles you hold and lay downe, I shall endeavour to prove, that you have no Scripture grounds, nor Primitive patterns for such principles, and such a way in such cases. Secondly, Besides that these principles have no footing in Scripture, and so they are no allowed remedy for miscarriages, &c. are not, nor will not be a sufficient remedy for *miscarriages, nor reliefe for wrongfull sentences, nor powerfull effectuall meanes to reduce a Church, &c.* For the first I shall take it for granted, you being wise men, that in such a point as this (being the maine point of difference betweene you and the Presbyterians) and at such a time as this you would bring the strongest Scriptures and grounds you had for your sacred principle and supreme Law to be observed among all Churches, namely of submission of Churches, and for that other principle of pronouncing that heavie sentence of non-communion against a Church or Churches; and if I can shew the invalidity and weaknesse of these brought by you, a man may conclude ther's no fear of what's behinde: Now a man would wonder that wise men as you are, should except against a Government received so generally amongst the Reformed Churches, and blessed so from Heaven in the effectualnesse of it, for the space of so many yeers, as a sufficient remedy not only to reduce men from heresies and Schisme, but to prevent Churches from falling into heresie, schisme, &c. (which is more) and go set up a new way so different and so distastfull to the Reformed Churches; and all upon pretences of no sound proof in Scripture for such a Government, because there is not an Apostolicall direction either in example or precept for it, and in the meane time to contend for such a Government wherein your selves cannot deny but hath fallen out strange miscarriages, and you tell us an unhappy story for proof, and yet the way and course you have substituted for remedy, hath neither example nor precept in the word of God to practise any title of all that you relate to us, and besides that the course prescribed by you is not commanded in the word, it is no whit so rationall, nor conducible to the ends you appoint it for, as we will shew presently: Now for the Scriptures brought by you, the first is, 1 Cor. 10. 32. *Give none offence neither to the Jewes, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God:* where first the Reader may observe you alter the text,

putting

putting Churches of God instead of Church of God, and then you adde they live amongst: The alteration (I suppose) you make upon this ground, for feare this text in the reading of it should bring that truth, how the visible Church in Scripture is taken for more then one particular congregation: the addition they live amongst, to make it a seeming ground for Churches in a vicinity: whereas the Apostle speaks of the Church of God generally, all the Churches, whether we live amongst them or farre from them, and the scope of the Apostle in this place, is upon the occasion of that particular offence which might arise to some *Corinthians*, from eating meate sacrificed to Idols, having been told that this is sacrificed to Idols, to lay downe a generall rule to all Christians against giving offence to any, whether Jewes, Gentiles, or Christians (under which three ranks all men then in those times were comprehended:) Now pray tell me how will you make this text to prove, that Churches offending and differing among themselves, must submit themselves to the most full and open triall and examination of other neighbour Churches offended? and how will you from this place draw out a power for neighbour Churches to send unto and require this of the Churches who have offended there, this Scripture (if all Interpreters understand it that I have conferred with) layes downe a rule, that every particular Christian, and so all Christians must so walke as to become all things to all men, to please all men in all things lawfull, as the 33. verse interprets it, and to give none offence; But where doth this Scripture speak, and how doth it affirme, that if either Churches or particular Christians do practise things that do offend other Churches, they who are offended have power and authority to send to them, and to call them to the most full and open triall and examination, and that such who are challenged to offend, must submit to such a judiciall and open triall before all comers? In this text there is no mention of the Church of God then of the Jewes and Gentiles, who must not be offended neither, and will you allow Jewes and Gentiles offended by things done in your Churches, to call your Churches to an account and you must submit? This text reaches to Churches that live in other Countries, and unto particular Christians, though they be not members of any such instituted Church as you speak of; so that by vertue of this text we ought to give them no offence; but will you grant that Churches of other Countries and Kingdomes may call Churches in another Kingdome to an open triall and examination, and send their messengers to question them, and thereupon pronounce sentence of renouncing all Christian communion with them, or that every particular man offended may call Churches to an account, and they are bound to submit to hearing

and triall? I will give you one instance; I am much offended at the great rent and difference that was betwixt Master *Bridge* and Master *Sympson*, and at Master *Sympsons* setting up a new Church, and at all that great bitternesse betwixt those Churches; and I am much offended at the Church of *Arnheim*, for letting passe that schisme and all those differences, never questioning it, especially questioning Master *Bridges* Church: Now have I a power by vertue of this precept, to call both you and your Churches to an account, and to require of you a most full and open tryal before all commers, and are you bound to submit to it? answer me this question in your Reply, and you shall see what I will say to you in my Rejoynder. For that other Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. *Neither be partakers of other mens sinnes*; that is spoken to *Timothy* in regard of his authoritative power in the Church of God, as the scope of the chapter, and the immediate precedent words shew, (which is not your case denying authoritative power;) but if you say this text is meant secondarily of all Churches and Christians, though they have not authoritative power; I grant it, but then it is in wayes suitable which the word of God gives warrant and allowance for; as in reproving, mourning for the sinne, &c. which must be shewn in some other Scriptures; For else the Presbyterians may pretend by vertue of this text, that they ought not to be partaker of other mens sinnes, that they may censure, depose, excommunicate members of other Churches who are suffered to go on in sin, better then you can draw from this text, that you may call not only particular members, but whole Churches to an account, examine them, and pronounce that heavie sentence of non-communion against them: But in a word brethren let met tell you, if such generall texts as these, that may be applied to any course and way conceived by men in their owne braines, to hinder sin and reduce from offences, will serve turn for Church government, and for remedies to reduce Churches, then we can give you besides your owne two texts quoted here for your principle of submission of Churches and non-communion, many other such and more probable too, for the authoritative power of Presbyteries and Synods, as that in 1 *Cor.* 14. 22. *And the spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets*; but we are not so hard put to it, there being particular instances and examples (if the nature of an Answer to such a Narration would permit me to insist at large, that prove the points in difference, namely of acts of power exercised by Churches in common, as in elections, determinations, and impositions upon differences and controversies, as *Acts* 15. 2, 4, 6, 7, 13, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29. *Acts* 16. 4, 5. 2 *Corinth.* 8. 18, 19. But let the indifferent Reader judge by this which hath been said, whether the Reformed Churches

ches or the Independent practise most safely, there being a ground as your selves confesse for the sentence of excommunication, such a sentence you acknowledge in particular Churches, and practise it, and such a sentence hath been decreed and past upon members of Churches, by those who were not members of those Churches, as the Scriptures are clear for it, 1 Tim. 1. 19, 20. But on the other hand it is not granted, that the Scriptures give any ground of pronouncing the sentence of non-communion against whole Churches, or do allow any such practise of declarations and protestations unto all Churches against whole Churches, this I utterly deny, and your Scriptures prove them not, and I wonder how you dare call it the command of Christ, and the way of Christ, as you do in page 18, 19. And Brethren, besides that, the Scriptures give neither precept nor example for your way of non-communion, consider whether the Scriptures give not grounds rather to the contrary, namely against a particular Churches withdrawing and renouncing all Christian communion with whole Churches upon an errour and miscarriage, for let me aske you, may not such a Church or Churches be true Churches for all this, continue in their offences upon mistakes and partiality, and notwithstanding all the light a particular Church can give them be unsatisfied? now if a particular man may not separate nor withdraw Christian communion from a true Church, though upon his counsell and advise the redresse not, but 'tis a schisme, then for one Church upon counsell and advise given to more Churches (though not taken) to separate formally from many Churches by pronouncing that heavie sentence of withdrawing and renouncing all Christian communion cannot be justified: *Paul* did not renounce nor cast off Churches for many things amisse, though upon his counsell they were not mended, (as appears in the Church of *Corinth* that had been twice admonished, 2 *Cor.* 13. 1, 2. and yet repented not, and now *Paul* doth it the third time, and yet refusing *Pauls* counsell and power being so infallible and authoritative, deserved more the sentence of non-communion, then the often rejecting the counsell and power of any particular Church can do. But I will answer you in your owne language, that your sacred and undoubted principles, and supreme lawes of submission of Churches, and of the power of Churches offended to pronounce the heavie sentence of non-communion against the Churches offending, and of Declarations and Protestations to all other Churches of Christ that they might do the like, with your owne practise expresst in the 20. and 21. page, are to me Apocripha, and judged to be an addicament, which therefore rests on you who allow the sentence of excommunication, to make evident and demonstrate that of non-communion, Protestations, Declarations, &c. And thus

that it often falls out whilst men will oppose that which hath long been received in the Church of God upon pretence of the want of Scripture grounds, and bring in new ways, they practise novelties upon lesse ground and foundation from Scripture then they rejected the old (as is to be seen in this instance.)

2. As these principles of yours have no footing in Scripture, so it will appear they are no sufficient remedies for miscarriages and evills, which fall out in particular Churches by reason of their compleat and entire power within themselves: first, because there are more acts of power then your principle of submission of Churches and the instances you give upon it reach unto; for though granting all you say of it, yet it would but reach to that particular case, or some such like case, but would be no way sufficient either for preventing or remedying other evills and mischiefs which do and would arise upon a congregationall government thus entire within it self: So that here lies the fallacy in the question between you and the Reformed Churches in point of government, you speak to some points of government but not to all, and instead of laying downe principles that should answer all cases, they only serve but to some, and so your principles that should be *Simpliciter*, are only *Secundum quid*: For in the government of the Church there are many other acts of power, as of making and ordaining Ministers, of receiving in Members, of agreeing upon a government, discipline and worship, &c. which this full compleat entire power of particular congregations takes upon them to do, of which many great mischiefs do arise and are like to arise in the first concoction, which your principle of submission of Churches reacheth not unto, nor doth not help. But secondly, besides this, the principle of submission of Churches that miscarry unto the other Churches offended, with that practise of Churches finally offended to denounce such a sentence of non-communion, doth not answer the evill alledged in heresie, schisme, or persons injured, nor is not a sufficient remedy, like that of combination of Elders, and for the making good of this I shall examine the way, and course prescribed by you, in your principles here laid downe of submission, Non-communion, Declarations, and Confessions; and though as coming out in such a juncture of time, when in the strife is between Presbyteriall government and Independent for preeminence, and coming from so many heads laid together, it cannot be imagined, but that it should come forth doubly refined, and in the most plausible advantagious way, and in the best edition that is possible such wise, and so many could set it out in (an *Utopia* indeed rather then what it can be in common practise) (this being the third Edition, the first that of the Brownists, the second of *New-England*,

gland, and now this the third) yet the Reader may observe into what uncertainties, labirinths, tediousnesse, delayes, nay absurdities and contrarieties these principles do leade them that follow them.

1. Whereas in Presbyteriall government each part and every particular is ruled by the whole and in common, the lesse by the greater, in your way an equall part must take upon them cognizance and call to an account an equall.

2. Not only so, but suppose two or three Churches fall out and have a difference among themselves, and there be but one Church free, who yet is offended at the others, then one must order two or three, the lesse the greater, and what a rule is this?

3. This principle of subtnission being voluntary amongst the Churches, we may well suppose sometimes the Churches challenged to offend or differ will submit, and sometimes they will not, or at least not yet, and when they know themselves faulty, they may pretend many things to put it off and to delay the time (which time will be both very prejudiciall to the parsons wronged, and to the spreading of the heresie and schisme) and if by delayes they see they cannot have their ends, what if for all their principle of submission, they flye off, and refuse to yeeld to such a full and open triall before all commers, and shall deny other Churches that power of summoning, deposing Witnesses, &c. upon pretence of conscience, that there is no primitive patterne for it (as you do deny the power of determination and imposition) how will you bring them to it, whereas in Presbyteriall government times of meeting being fixt, and agreed upon, men cannot evade, but matters will be quickly heard and remedied.

4. As in reason and by experience amongst wise men it is held a vaine course which no publike company of men will yeeld to (but such practises are rather accounted ridiculous) to raise such dust and make such a do to call others to account, to depose Witnesses, spending many dayes in a judiciary way, and yet have no power to end things, to be never the neare, but that Delinquents may do nevertheless what they please, so it cannot be conceived that the wise God hath ordered in the Government of his Churches such a kind of way for Churches who are of a publike capacitie, and have a power (as you grant) to call Churches that to an account, &c. and yet nothing to be done to the offenders. Churches offended either have not power to do thus much as you grant, or else they have a greater power, namely to bring about the ends, which these meanes tendered, namely determination and decision, the righting persons injured, and the reducing the offending parties. But it will be said by you, that if the Churches offending take

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take not the counsell and advice of their sister Churches about them, but persist in their errour and miscarriage, that censure of the *absence of Non-communion* will be a sufficient remidie and an effectuall meanes to reduce them, and remidy all, as well as that of the Presbyterians. I will not here enter into comparison between these two, but do reserve it to it's proper place the fifth and last generall head (though besides Excommunication there are other things in the Classicall Synodicall way both to preserve and reduce Churches) which are not in the Independent way. But I answer this is no likely meanes nor way, for which I shall give these following reasons. 1. One Church may not be able to convince another of their errour or evill, much lesse one Church two or three Churches offending and differing. 2. The Church offending may stand upon it, that what they do is according to their light, it is according to their conscience to hold such an opinion, or to do such a fact, as to depose their Minister, because he hath no better gifts of preaching, and whether may another Church passe the sentence of Non-communion against whole Churches, and declare and protest this to all other Churches of Christ that they may do the like for opinions or practises that are not against the Churches known light? For of no other kinde of sinnes then may evidently be presumed to be perpetrated against the parties known light may be the subject of excommunication in particular persons, may they be the subject of Non-communion of whole Churches? 3. In reason this seemes not a powerfull meanes or probable way, for if this one Church offended shall renounce the Churches challenged to offend, they may and will renounce that Church also, passing the sentence of Non-communion, &c. against that, and how shall the matter now be healed and remedied. 4. That Church or Churches thus sentenced (may be) care not for the Communion of this Church that cast them off, nor of no others, as long as they can have communion amongst themselves; These kind of Churches that hold such principles of entire compleate power within themselves, with that principle of sufficiency of all gifts, and all ordinances within themselves, will go on in their errours and sinfull practise, for all that. 5. The Churches renounced and cast out may challenge the Churches casting them out for injuring of them, and there upon both Churches may declare and protest against each other to all other Churches of Christ, which will prove as great a non-difference, nay worse then the first, and this will produce a great deal of defending and proving, for if the Churches on both sides do declare against one another unto the other Churches, which of them now shall be believed, and what if the Churches protested and declared unto, will not upon the Protestations withdraw and renounce all Christian

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communion with them, must they then protest against them also, and what the Churches professing may account matter of Non-communion, other Churches declared and protested unto may not judge so, for this here will be worse matter of difference and divisions in the Church of God then before, and I suppose you would not have those Churches declared and protested unto to condemne the rest sentenced without a hearing (especially where there is but one to one, or where one may declare and protest against two or three) so that then there must be sending for all these Churches, and meetings appointed for the Churches protested unto, to heare the Churches on both sides, and what now if the Churches declared unto upon the hearing the Churches on both sides, both censuring and censured, shall acquit the Churches condemned and censured, and shall condemne and judge those Churches for renouncing communion as too severe and declaring thus to all other Churches against them: what must be done in these cases? Will these Churches censuring now acknowledge their offence, and revoke their sentence of Non-communion, or if they will not, what must these Churches protested unto do in this case? must not they passe the sentence of Non-communion against them? and if they do so, what if these Churches censuring shall also pronounce the heavie sentence of Non-communion even against these Churches protested and declared unto? Now that these things and worse may not and will not fall out cannot be denyed, which things as to the neighbour Churches among themselves will be great occasion of schismes and continuall differences, so will they minister matter of great scandall to all other Churches, and of tryumph and evill speaking unto enemies, all which will be easily prevented and remedied in the Presbyteriall government. Sixthly, Two or three Churches or more of your Independent way living amongst other Churches, (as you did in *Holland*) or if your Congregations should be tolerated in *England* according to your desire, you may hold this principle of submission to one another, and yet all agree in holding some errours, with which errours you may infect many of the members of the Presbyteriall Churches, for which you will not question one another, what remedy or meanes is there now to reduce your Churches or preserve ours? Seventhly, Some of your Churches by vertue of this principle, that Church, or Churches challenged to offend or differ, are to submit themselves upon the challenge of the offence to the most full and open triall and examination by other neighbour Churches, may be ever and anon unjustly calling upon some of the Churches to submit, and challenging them first with being offended by them, least themselves should be challenged to have offended, and so (as we speak) call whose first,

and also they who are challenged to offend, to be even with them, will challenge them againe, and what must be done in this case, and who shall interpose to determine these differences, or may both parties judged thus by each other to be offenders, determine against one another. Eighthly, If Churches must thus submit to trialls and examinations, these being the acts of whole Churches, here will be nothing but trialls and examinations and censures one upon another, and this instead of a sufficient remedy is like to prove a continuall vexation and molestation to neighbour Churches. Ninthly, What must be done in case one Church or more take offence unjustly at others, and trouble them thus to call them to open examination, &c. what satisfaction must be given to the Church troubled and examined. Tenthly, In this principle of submission of Churches, suppose that upon a hearing, the Church offending will not redresse the grievance or relieve a person injured: But goe on, and slight communion with other Churches, the persons injured in the meane time are debarred from the ordinances, and cannot remove their dwellings without manifest ruine of their families, how doth this help such persons injured, or is a sufficient remedy for wrongfull sentences, &c. Whereas now in the Presbyteriall way if such a Minister or Officers who are the cause of this may be deposed, and acts passe against them, and others placed in their roomes, this will remedy and redresse it: And so suppose a Minister of note fall into heresie and errour, and draw the most of his people after him, so that he cannot be deposed by the Church, what good will the Non-communion pronounced against this Church by other Churches do for reducing them, but now if this Minister may be deposed, and an orthodox Minister put in to preach the truth, here is a powerfull meanes to reduce and preserve. Eleventhly, Let me aske you, and pray determine it from the Scriptures, in case two or three Churches offended do challenge a Church or Churches offending, who yet upon submitting to a hearing will not yeeld to the counsell and advice of those Churches, who? how? where? after what time, and how many meetings? and after what manner must this sentence of Non-communion be denounced against this Church or Churches? whether must it be denounced in and upon the place where they meet to hear and examine? or in the meeting place of each of these Churches offended? or must these Churches offended meet in one of their meeting places to pronounce it together? and who must be the mouth? and who by warrant out of the Scriptures hath the power to pronounce that heavie sentence of Non-communion? and how must it be made known unto the offending Churches, with other things of this like nature? To say no more now,

this

this principle of Non-communion is so farre from being a sufficient remedy for miscarriages, or a relief for wrongfull sentence, or a powerfull meanes to reduce a Church or Churches, *&c.* that it is a remedy worse then the disease, and if it should be practised would be the ground of many schismes, separations, mischiefes in the Church of God and amongst whole Churches, so that it were farre better particular persons should suffer wrong, or particular persons fall into schisme and be left to their liberty, then whole Churches suffer those evills which your principles of Non-communion, Declarations, Protestations would undoubtedly produce (as the Reader may judge by what is here written.) For the second, your practise according to this principle, occasioned upon an offence that fell out in your Churches; I shall shew that as insufficient as your principles, and shall animadvert upon the most *solemne instances of your practise*: As for the Introduction into your relation of the scandall and offence, I readily assent unto you, had you not judged it for the advantage of your selves and way, you would *upon no other occasion have made it thus publike*: for you are good at concealing of all your principles and practises, but when and where you may further and propagate your way; For the story it self (as it is related by you) it is very short and generall, neither expressing the Ministers name deposed, nor the causes of his deposition, nor the first occasion of the differences, nor the way the Church took before they deposed him, nor the manner how they proceeded, nor how long he stood so deposed; so that the Reader cannot well tell what to make of it for want of a more full particular relation, or how to judge whether your principle of submission of Churches, and your practise here laid down upon it was so proper, and so sufficient a remedie, and so effectuall a course as you boast of in page 20, 21. I must therefore of necessitie in reference to the disproving and weakning of what you would inferre from your sacred principle and supreame law of submission, *and the more solemne instances of your practise wherewith to vindicate your selves and way in this particular*, and that it may appear it was but a half sight, lame and partiall remedy to the offences and scandall, relate the story more at large, and then make some queries upon it, and your solemne practise thereupon, and then I shall leave it to the Reader to judge whether your principle of submission be comparable to the way of the combined Classicall Presbyteriall government. The Church in which this offence fell out was at *Rotterdam*, of which Master *Bridge* and Master *Ward* of *Norwich*, old loving friends, and both flying upon the same cause, Bishop *Wrens* Innovations, were the Ministers, and the Minister deposed by the Church was this Master *Ward*, who for appearing and siding against Master

Bridge in ſome particulars, and for his preaching of Sermons in the Church at *Rotterdam*, which he had preached before in his Church at *Norwich*, and for his giving too much heed to the reports of ſimple people and old wives tales, was thus depoſed; but I cannot ſo fully cauſe the Reader to underſtand matters without relating the firſt difference between Maſter *Bridge* and Maſter *Sympſon*; the true ground and riſe of this latter offence. Maſter *Sympſon* one of the Authors of this *Apologeticall Narration*, after ſome time of beholding the order and way of this Church at *Rotterdam*, deſired to be admitted a Member, and was upon his confeſſion, *&c.* received in, but not long after (what were the true reaſons he beſt knowes) he diſliked ſome perſons and things in that Church, and he ſtood for the ordinance of Propheſying to be exerciſed in that Church, that the people on the Lords day ſhould have liberty after the Sermons ended, to put doubts and queſtions to the Miniſters, *&c.* and he was troubled at a ruling Elder in that Church, brought in by Maſter *Bridge* (which belike had more power and bore more ſway then himſelf) who as Maſter *Sympſon* in a Letter to a Miniſter in *London*, complaining of the difference beween him and Maſter *Bridge*, writ how that Elder was in that Church over all perſons and over all cauſes; but Maſter *Bridge* oppoſed Maſter *Sympſons* propheſying upon ſome rationall grounds of inconveniencies (as himſelf told me the ſtory, which were too long too relate,) yet he yeelded ſo farre that the Church ſhould meet on a week day, and then they ſhould have that liberty, but this would no way ſatisfie Maſter *Sympſon*, whereupon the difference increaſed and there were ſidings, but Maſter *Bridges* power was the greater to carrie things in the Church, and ſo Maſter *Sympſon* would abide no longer, but quitted that Church, (though he had no Letters of diſmiſſion from that Church) and with the help of a woman (whom Maſter *Bridge* called, telling me the ſtory of things between them, the foundreſſe of Maſter *Sympſons* Church) ſet up a Church againſt a Church, conſiſting but of five perſons at the moſt in the beginning, whereof the woman and her husband were two, but this Church of Maſter *Sympſons* increaſed, as being extolled for a purer Church and for more Ordinances, but Maſter *Bridges* Church was cried down for old rotten Members, and for the want of prophecie, and ſo the fire of contention and difference grew more and more between Maſter *Bridge* and Maſter *Sympſon*, and their Churches: Now Maſter *Ward*, Maſter *Bridges* colleague ſided with Maſter *Sympſon*, ſtood for propheſying, and though Maſter *Sympſon* had left that Church, yet Maſter *Ward* in that Church was for Maſter *Sympſons* way; whereupon by occaſion of that and for exerciſing his gifts no better, but to preach his old Sermons he had formerly preacht

at

at *Norwich*, and beleeving of tales, giving ſo much way to reports, he was depoſed by that Church: Amongſt ſeventeen or eighteen Reaſons of Maſter *Wards* depoſition, a godly learned Miniſter who had ſeen them in writing, told me theſe were the moſt materiall: And now upon Maſter *Sympſons* rending from the Church, and ſetting up a Church againſt a Church under Maſter *Bridges* noſe, and upon Maſter *Wards* depoſition from his Miniſtery, and Maſter *Sympſons* Church increaſing in fame and number, but Maſter *Bridges* decreaſing and ſome others rending themſelves away, and upon wicked reports raiſed about Maſter *Bridge*, there grew that bitterneſſe, evill ſpeakings, deep cenſurings, deadly feauds amongſt theſe Miniſters and their Churches, as never was more betwixt the *Jewes and the Samaritans*. Maſter *Bridge* confeſſed to me, there were no ſuch ſharpe tongues nor bitter diviſions as theſe: Letters from all three were ſent into *England* both into City and Country againſt each other, Maſter *Sympſon* diſpacht many Letters into *England* againſt Maſter *Bridge*, as to Maſter *M.* Maſter *B.* Maſter *H.* Maſter *R.* *&c.* and Maſter *Bridge* againſt Maſter *Sympſon*. Maſter *Bridge* and Maſter *Ward* writ many Letters one againſt the other, particularly to *Norwich*, and among other, many ſharpe Letters were ſent to a Doctor of Phyſick about the differences, and upon their coming over into *England*, they told ſad ſtories for themſelves, and each againſt other: Miſtris *Bridge* laid theſe bitter differences and reports ſo to heart, that they were a great meanes of her death, and whether Maſter *Bridges* weakneſſes and diſtempers were not occaſioned by the diviſions and the wicked ſcandalls unjuſtly (I beleeve) raiſed upon him as well as by the aire of *Rotterdam*, Maſter *Bridge* knowes beſt. And thus much for the particular relation of the ſcandall and offence that fell out in that Church of *Rotterdam*, as it hath been related to me from good hands, from ſome who have lived in *Holland*, and as I had part of it from Maſter *Bridges* own mouth, and ſome of it from Letters of Maſter *Sympſons* written into *England*, and from other men of credit who have ſeen Letters and relations written from thence: Now from the relation of this ſtory and your practiſe upon it, I ſhall propound theſe queries, which will give ſome light to judge whether there was any ſufficiency in your courſe, to remedy and redreſſe things amiſſe in Churches, and betwixt perſons offending.

Firſt, Whether your Churches did agree upon and tye your ſelves to this principle of ſubmiſſion, and the ſentence of Non-communion at your firſt ſetting up and coming into that place of exile, or did you firſt acknowledge it, and were willing to ſubmit upon the occaſion of the ſcandall of Maſter

Master *Ward* deposing, and that great clamour upon it both in *Holland* and *England*?

Secondly, Whether did you then, or do you now acknowledge that principle of submission to all other neighbour Churches, as well as to them of your own way, as namely to the Presbyterian Churches, those *English* Churches at *Amsterdam*, *Hague*, *Utrich*, &c. and would you have submitted to those Churches to have so proceeded upon offences and differences amongst you?

Thirdly, How long was it, was it not for the space of between a yeare and two that Master *Ward* stood deposed and laid aside from his Ministery and maintenance, before he was restored, and if so, was not this a late remedy, and is it so in Presbyteriall government.

Fourthly, When, and at what time was this principle of submission and your solemne practise both of requiring the Church offending to give an account, with their chearfull submitting and restoring Master *Ward* agreed upon? was it not upon the newes of the Parliament, and the probability of the revolution of things? And I propound this question, because Master *Barrough* who came in Master *Wards* place after his deposition, came back to *England*, but at the beginning of the Parliament, and till he came or was resolved to come, it is not probable Master *Ward* was restored, and if so, that it was done when all was like to breake up, and they to come for *England*, may we not suspect it was done for an instance to vindicate your way with and to serve your turne, as in this *Apologie*, rather then from any necessitie of righting a person injured, or correcting a Church offending.

Fifthly, Why did not the Church of *Arnheim* take offence as well at Master *Simpsons* Church, and at his schisme in setting up another Church, and at all that bitternesse, evill speaking between those two Churches (the ground indeed and foundation of that unhappie businesse about Master *Ward*, and of all the evill committed therein) and accordingly have required Master *Simpsons* Church to have submitted, but there is not a hint of this in all the relation of your practise, I have a Letter out of *Holland* by me that concerning this businesse writes thus, *'That though Master* Simpson *'with some few more rent themselves from Master* Bridges *Church, to the 'great offence thereof, yet Master* Goodwin *and his associates when they came 'to heare the businesse about Master* Ward, *never questioned that scandall, I 'meane of their schisme from the same Church.* Now if it were so, was not this a partiall remedy, not reaching to all the offence, nor to the buttome of it, why did you not summon both these Churches in the matter of scandall

dall and difference to submit as well as one of the Churches? will not your principles serve in difference between Churches, as for difference in one Church, or was it that there was no complaint of neither side? or was it because you are tender of questioning the multiplication of Churches? (though by separation and schisme) Or what was the reason you questioned not that?

Sixthly, Whether were the other Churches of our Nation or any of them (who could not but be offended) as them of *Amsterdam*, *Hague*, *Utrich*, *Leyden*, *Delph*, call'd in by *Arnheim*, or by the Church at *Rotterdam* to joyne in the hearing, trying of that businesse, and deposing Witnesses, or did they send Messengers, or was it only agitated by two Ministers and two Messengers of the Church of *Arnheim*, one Church only, *Arnheim* to *Rotterdam*, one to one, both equall? and whether there can be the like majesty and solemnity of a meeting where they are equall, nay an inferiority, (in as much as a representative Church consisting of foure is below a Church represented,) as in a Presbyteriall Assemblie? I have a Letter from *Holland* by me, wherein a godly Minister writes thus, 'I was desired by 'Master Ward to be present at that meeting, but when the time came, neither 'I, nor any other English Ministers but they of Arnheim were called.

Seventhly, To what or to how much did your practise (who were the Church offended) amount unto upon Master *Bridges* Church submission, and your full hearing and finding both sides to be in an errour? did you joyne and draw up an order, that the Church offending should publikely acknowledge their sinfull aberration before you and the commers of all sorts? and restore their Minister againe? and that they should keep a solemne day of fasting to humble themselves for their sinfull carriage? and that the Minister deposed should acknowledge to the Church wherein hee had likewise sinned? or did you leave them to themselves, upon your finding the offence, to do what they thought fitting, both Church and Minister, as being against your principles for one Church to decree and impose any thing upon another, and so they took up this way voluntarily, would you would speak out, and once tell us plainly what you hold, and what you would have? that so the Reader might judge of the effectualnesse of your course.

Eighthly, I aske of you whether Master *Bridge* with the offending Church at *Rotterdam* did sit as Judges with them of *Arnheim*, in their own cause to examine, depose, &c. or else stood by as delinquents, to be charged, tried, &c.

Ninthly,

Ninthly, I desire to know of you, whether Mr *Ward* after he was restored, did as formerly officiate in that Church, and how long? and whether Master *Bridge* and he continued there as fellow Ministers? and whether both between them two, and between the Church and Master *Ward*, there was that mutuall carriage as before, and ought to be between fellow Ministers, and Ministers and people?

Tenthly, How can a Church representative be a sufficient and allowed remedy to take up great offences in a Church at a great distance? and whether this implies not an implicit faith in the represented, to let the representers upon hearing put a finall determination and conclusion to great offences and differences without returning back the businesse to the Church represented, or so much as ever acquainting them with the businesse before all was ended, (as was in this particular case) and whether * Master *Robinsons* arguments against the Presbyterians about the power of their Elders be not strong against your principles and practises here related? and what ground is there from the Scripture, that foure men of another Church should have power to call unto and insist upon a judiciary charge against them who were greater then themselves, namely against a whole Church consisting of Officers and people.

* *Robins.* Justif. of separat. *Robins.* Catech. A representative Church in a case of faith and conscience without the consent of the represented in the particular decree, establisheth the Popish doctrine of implicite faith.

Suppose the Church of *Arnheim* (who sent two Ministers and two Gentlemen as Messengers of their Church, upon their returne back to the Church and giving an account of all the proceedings, and issue of that businesse) had disliked the determinations, and judged some of the proceedings unjust, others unsatisfactory, and not according to the rules of the word, (as the Church of *Arnheim* might well have done, there being just ground for it, as I will shew in the second particular under the next head.) What must have been done in this case? must the Messengers themselves have been now questioned by the Church for managing matters no better? or must the sentences agreed upon both for the Church and Master *Ward* be reversed? or must other Messengers be sent to heare matters againe, and to change, or adde what was amisse? and what if the Church would not alter that which upon so full a hearing and triall was agreed upon? now I aske of you, and appeale to the Reader, considering that the Church or Churches themselves may probably (and it cannot but be expected) differ and vary in their judgements from their Messengers about the determination

tion of offences and differences, whether this be a likely meanes and sufficient remedy to end all strifes, or rather will not be as the beginning of new strife, and occasion of endlesse contentions.

12. In this way of submission of Churches, and your practises upon occasion of offences and differences, what if the Messengers of the Churches upon hearing and examining differ among themselves about the differences and offences in the Church offending, and about the sentences to be agreed upon to be commended to the offending parties? yea and what if the Churches themselves upon returne made by the Messengers how they find matters, differ also, one of the Churches offended being of one mind, and the other Church offended of a nother mind, what remedy is there now for miscarriages? what relief for a person injured? or what effectuall and powerfull meanes to reduce a Church or Churches?

13. In your sentence of Non-communion against Churches, and in your Declarations and Protestations to all other Churches of Christ that they may do the like; what shall become of some innocent godly persons in that Church renounced and protested against, must they be renounced communion with? what will you do in the case where some in a Church may be free from the errours and evills which the greater number are guilty of (which you account the Church,) must they be debarred of all Christian communion with the Church offended, and all other Churches of Christ protested to? (you speak nothing here in this case, nor take no care for them, but wrap up all alike in your sentence of Non-communion) must the innocent partie now in this Church offending separate and withdraw from their own Church, and renounce communion too, as well as the Church offended? what if all their maintenance and livelihood depends in living in that place, so that if they withdraw from them, they must either live without publike Ordinances and communion, or else if they come away, ruine themselves and families? what also if in this Church offending the wife be one of the innocent persons in that Church, but the husband of the number of them that persist in their errour and miscarriage? the sonne and daughter among the innocent, the fathers and mothers among the offenders, what must the wives and children renounce communion with their husbands and parents, and now either live without the Ordinances there, or else goe away from their husbands and parents to some other Churches? And in your drawing up your Declarations and Protestations against those Churches persisting in their errours and miscarriages will you in the grosse do it, or will you signifie and declare all the names of those who remaine obstinate and impenitent in such Churches, with the names of those who are free from those errours and offences, least you

should bring all the Churches of Christ protested unto into sinne and a snare? pray resolve these cases with many such (which by these now hinted) you may fore-see will fall out in your principle of Non-communion of Churches and Protestations.

Thirdly, For the successe and effectualnesse of your practise, I answer,

1. Supposing the particular instance of your practise, according to the principle of submission of Churches that miscarry, to have had a good effect (as you relate in your two Churches of *Arnheim* and *Rotterdam*) yet it followes not, it is a powerfull and effectuall meanes to reduce Churches; for a course may prevalle in one and take with one, and yet have no rationality to carrie it in others, for though this Church at *Rotterdam* did submit to them of *Arnheim* who were of note for parts, quality, *&c.* yet it is a question whether these would to some other particular Churches who had challenged them, and whether these men would also at all times, had there not been something cast in the ballance before hinted.

2. Take the best that came of the issue and successe of this agitation between the Church of *Arnheim* and that of *Rotterdam* (namely that Church which had offended, acknowledging their offence in deposing Mr *Ward* and restoring him to his place againe) it was but a slender satisfaction for the losse of his Ministery and maintenance for so long a time, and for all the suffering of him and his family: If the Church offending had been enjoyned, or had ordered themselves to have paid him the profits of his place, or to have given him a good summe of money on their Fast day, this had been some relief for a wrongfull sentence, and a person injured thereby, and might have been a meanes to have preserved them from doing the like for time to come, but for a Minister and his family to be so long in a sad condition without all maintenance in a strange Land, and in the issue for them who did this to acknowledge only their sinfull aberration, and the Minister thus suffering to acknowledge his sin too, and both of them to be humbled for it alike; here was a poor remedy, nay as you relate it your selves it is very unjust and injurious, for in some passages of your Narration, you acknowledge the fault on the Churches side, as in page 16. and in page 20. and that Mr *Ward* was wronged, and yet they were both equally ordered to a publike confession of sin and solemne fasting, the Delinquent and the Innocent alike dealt with, is this the fruit of your principle of submission of Churches and Non-communion? is this the reall evidence and demonstration of the effectuall successe of such a course held by Churches in such a case? and was this the issue of all that sending to and solemne assembly, and the agitation of so many daies, publike hearing by deposition of witnesses, so largely and formally related in page 20, 21? I wonder

der wise men (as you pretend to be) should not see into the weakneſſe and folly of your own practiſe in this caſe, but tell ſuch a ſtory ſo to ſhame your ſelves, you ſhould never have troubled your ſelves to have come ſo many dutch miles, nor the Church at *Rotterdam*, not made ſo great adoe for many dayes of depoſing witneſſes, *&c.* (as you your ſelves relate in page 20, 21.) to have put together the Innocent and Delinquents. And let me here put you this dilemma, either Mr *Ward* was unjuſtly depoſed from his Miniſtery, both materially and formally upon unſufficient cauſes, as the matter for ſuch a cenſure, and for the way and manner of it, as being too ſuddaine before admonition, and before faſting and prayer preceding, *&c.* or he was juſtly depoſed by the Church? if unjuſtly in both theſe reſpects (as your Narration implies, page 16.) why was Mr *Ward* put upon acknowledging his ſin to the Church, and put in the ſame condition with them who had dealt ſo unjuſtly both materially and formally? and whether this was not a meanes to hinder the Churches repentance and humiliation for their ſin, when they ſhould be put but to do as Mr *Ward*? But if Mr *Ward* were juſtly depoſed, why was the Church then put upon publike acknowledgement, and ordered a ſolemne day of faſting to humble themſelves before God and man? and whether was M. *Bridge* as well as the Church injoyned to confeſſe his ſinfull aberration in it, in that he did not interpoſe his authority and intereſt in the Church, nor ſpeak a word to hinder the depoſing of Mr *Ward*, and ſo to have prevented ſo great a ſcandall and offence as this was?

To the fifth and laſt generall head, the compariſon you make between the effectualneſſe and powerfulneſſe of your way of ſubmiſſion and non-communion, and that of the Presbyterians, to awe and preſerve Churches and Elders in their duties, and to reduce Churches miſcarrying, where you make the skales fall on your ſide rather. I anſwer, Beſides ſome conſiderable things already hinted under ſome of the former heads (eſpecially under the fourth head) which do ſhew a wide difference of the effectualnes and ſucceſſe which the Presbyterian principles and way hold out over your Congregationall, there are many other to turne the skales, which I ſhall now ſpeak of according as 'tis laid down here by you in the 17, 18, and 19, pages.

1. That you may render your way the more ſpecious and probable, you beg the queſtion, and take for granted things denied, ſuppoſing that alſo which never hath fallen out in the reformed Churches, and you ſpeak but to a part of the way and remedy, (namely excommunication) and from all theſe falſe premiſes you make your concluſion: You lay down your way of *ſubmiſſion and non-communion as that which is the command and way of Chriſt, and to be ſtrictly enjoyned by Chriſt, and that it is a command from Chriſt injoyned to Churches that are finally offended, to denounce ſuch a ſentence of non-communion*; which is a meer device of

your own braine, and found out to give a colourable answer to that common and true reason against the Church-way: you make that *authoritative power in Presbyteries*, to be *an excommunicating of whole Churches, and a delivering of whole Churches and their Elders offending unto Satan*, (which is a scandalous charge laid on the Presbyteriall government) and never yet was heard of in any of the Reformed Churches for the space now of a hundred yeares past: You say you give more to the Magistrates power then *the principle of the Presbyteriall government will suffer them to yield*, whereas in some things I shall shew the contrary, and in other things you may out of policie at this time give more then the Scriptures allow; You speak only of excommunication, a part of their way, whereas in combined Classicall government there are many other meanes and waies from first to last to preserve and reduce from errours and offences.

2. The comparison made by you between the Presbyterians and Independents standes in two things: First, In the Ecclesiasticall proceedings and power; Secondly, In the civill Magistrates power: 1. For the Ecclesiasticall, you make that *principle of submission of Churches that miscarry*, and that of *non-communion* as effectuall as excommunication, which supposing they were (as I shall shew they are not) yet 'tis a fallacious reasoning by comparing the whole with a part: for a whole of one kind may be better and more excellent then some part of another kind, and yet not comparable to the whole; now there are many things in Presbyteriall government besides excommunication, excellent to preserve and keep the Churches: Their reformation and constitution being setled by Synods and Assemblies, their Ministers being ordained by Presbyteries and Classes, their Doctrine, Worship, Government and Discipline, upon serious debate, and by common consent drawn up, their rules being fixt, known and certaine, their Classicall meetings frequent and constant, with higher Assemblies for appeales, their number and abilities great, their remedies and censures more solemne, and more in number, as deposition, suspension, &c. all which are wanting in the Church-way (as I could shew at large, but that this answer would be too great a volume.) But to come to particulars, the Presbyterian is more effectuall then your Independent way: 1. Because it doth prevent and preserve from those many errours, divisions, evills which fall out in your way (as is evident by experience, and is founded upon good reason will fall out) now how much better and more effectuall away 'tis to play the fore-game then the after-game, all men know: 'tis better to prevent the plague and taking in poyson then to expell it; government is for prevention as well as for cure, if your way were as effectuall to compose differences and reduce Churches,

yet not so to prevent, which is one of the great ends of Church government. 2. Your way wraps in whole Churches in sin and guilt, and you have no remedy but it must come to non-communion of whole Churches, but in Presbyteriall 'tis not so, no example being extant among them of excommunicating whole Churches, so that if an error take one or two, they are presently dealt with, and the errour spreads not to a whole Church. 3. In the Presbyteriall way, the persons offending and sinning in Congregations are proceeded with and punished, every man beares his own sin, but the innocent persons suffer not; but here in the way of non-communion, some who are good in the Church suffer also many waies, and here is no difference made by you, but all involved in the same condition. 4. In your way, as if all sins were equall, and all offenders alike, all are punished with the same sentence of non-communion; but 'tis not so in the Presbyteriall way. 5. Your submissions and meetings are accidentall, uncertain, free and at choice, they may be, and may not be, there are manie waies to evade and put them off; whereas the combinations and consociations of Churches are fixed, set, certain. Amongst your Churches in *Holland*, in three or foure yeares there was but one act of submission, and one meeting, which is here related: In that difference between those two Churches at *Roterdam*, there was no submission, but each Church blew the Trumpet of defiance against the other; and so about the differences at *Arnheim* which the Church could not end in so long a time, no Church interposed; but in the classicall government there is such a subordination and dependencie, such stated and fixed meetings, that if men should escape one, they do not all: now in government and order there is a materiall difference between what men may do, or not do, and what they have tyed themselves unto and must stand to: In matters of civill difference referred to Arbitrators, 'tis one thing to submit to hearing, and to counsell upon it, and another thing to be bound to stand to the determination. There are many will do justly, and performe such trusts whilest bound, who left at liberty will do just nothing; now in your submission of Churches, though you submit to a hearing, yet you do not submit to their determinations unlesse it like you, you do not submit to do what they enjoyn, but you will order your selves according to their counsell (as you see occasion) now men being partiall in their own cause, and still their own judges, what a remedy is this? 'tis one thing when men know they are at liberty, and may do, or not do as they see good, and another thing when they must; we find it so in all, converse with men, and good men are men, there's a great deale of difference between authority and obedience, and only perswasion on the one part, and free will on the other, no man will deny but in civill matters there is a great difference,

in such cases; were it in the power of particular members in your Churches to submit or not submit, as they please, there would be as much ado to remedy any thing, as will be betwixt Churches differing: But particularly for excommunication and non-communion, excommunication may upon these grounds awe mens consciences more, and be more effectuall then non-communion; 1. Because there is something positive in it, it is a delivering of the offenders up unto Satan, but your non-communion is a privative depriving only of communion; now ther's more efficacie in a positive then in a privative & negative. Secondly, Excommunication doth deprive the persons offending, or the Churches of all communion among themselves as well as the communion of other Churches whereas the sentence of non-communion doth but take other Churches off from communion with them, but meddles not to debar them of communion among themselves in their own particular Churches, but still they enjoy the word, praiers, Sacraments, *&c.* which is a great difference. Thirdlie, Your selves make excommunication the greater censure, as appears by your own phrases, calling it an *authoritative power*, &c. and not practising that against other Churches, whereas you do exercise the sentence of non-communion, and we know 'tis the highest censure in the Church, now certainly the greatest censures and more dreadfull punishments according to Christs institution and intention, are more effectuall and powerfull to awe and to remedy things amisse then the lesser and lower censures. And so much for the comparison in the Ecclesiasticall proceedings.

Secondly, In the civill Magistrates power you granting that ought *to back and assist the sentence of non-communion against Churches miscarrying according to the nature of the crime, and you giving more (as you think) to the Magistrates power in matters Ecclesiasticall then the principles of the Presbyteriall government will suffer them to yeeld, your way of Church proceeding will be every way as effectuall as the Presbyterians.* I answer, supposing all that you say of giving so much power to the Magistrate, *&c.* were true, yet that makes not your submission and non-communion so effectuall a means as excommunication, for the question is about Ecclesiasticall authority and spirituall power, and about spirituall means and remedies for the conscience and soule, and not about civill power, and civill externall means; and I would aske you this question upon this passage of the civill Magistrate, either you give him an Ecclesiasticall spirituall power of applying spirituall remedies and means to Churches miscarrying, or you do not, if you give him not this first (as I judge your principles will not allow you) he being no Church-Officer of Christs Church, but only Christ gave Pastors, teachers, *&c.* as necessary and sufficient for the Government of his Church, then all you say of the Magistrate helpes you not, 'tis nothing to the question in hand; but before I speak any more to that point, that the

Magistrates

Magistrates power backing your sentence of non-communion is not comparable to the Presbyterian way, I must animadvert upon the passage it self both in the comparative of your saying, *you think you give more to the Magistrate then the Presbyterians*, and upon the positive what you give them.

1. For the comparison, 'tis an odious and dangerous insinuation to prepare King and Parliament to reject the Presbyterie, as not giving so much to Magistrates in matters of Religion and Church government as is their due, and 'tis scandalous against *Scotland* and all the Reformed Churches: But what's the main end of it, or what may be conceived the reason of your saying you give so much to the Magistrates power, and more then the Presbyterians, (seeing men of your Church principles were never yet guilty of giving too much Ecclesiasticall power to Magistrates: you are the first Independents, and this is the first time that ever publikely you have expresst your selves thus,) I judge you being Politicians (*Politici Theologi*) to flatter the Parliament at this time, the better to work your ends for a toleration, and to promote your Church-way you write thus. 'Tis observed by Learned men, that amongst the principall attempts and policies of the Remonstrants wherby they laboured to bring the Churches of the *Netherlands* into commotion, and to obtain their owne ends, this was a great one, the crying up the power of the civill Magistrate, both by writing of Books of their great power in Ecclesiasticals, and in their Sermons every where, and their aspersing the orthodox Ministers and their lawfull meetings and Ecclesiasticall actions with the contrary, and amongst many other particulars of the great power they gave the Magistrates in Ecclesiasticals this was one, that they did ascribe to the Magistrate the ultimate and highest jurisdiction and power of giving judgment in Ecclesiasticall matters, reasoning, that unto the Magistrate alone, immediately under Christ did belong the judgment when controversies of faith did arise in the Church; And therefore after the Arminians despaired of prevailing by the Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, they brought and removed their cause from the Ecclesiasticall cognizance to another Court, by their policies and artifices, making use of the Authority of one or two chiefe men in place to work for them: And that this new-way might have some colour, and that so much the more easilie the favour of manie Politicians, or at least a toleration might be procured for these Arminian novelties, there was a book set forth by *Uttenbogardus, de Jure Supremi Magistratus in Ecclesiasticis*; Manie other of the Arminians also sung the same song, as *Episcopius* printed a Disputation *de Jure Magistratus circa sacra*, *Barlaus*, *Grotius*, *&c.* And besides all these, there was a great number of books put forth in the vulgar and mother tongue of the power and authoritie of the Magistrates: And thus whilst the Magistrates let the Arminians a-

one and did nothing against them, even till the Synod of *Dort* in the year 1618. they flattered them thus: But after the Synod of *Dort* had determined against their opinions, and that the Magistrates were against thē, then they lifted up the heel and then they write books in a far other stile, & in their Apologie, that power wch before they had so liberally measured out for them, they did not a little limit, & contract, & offended as much in the defect, giving Magistrates too little, as before they had in the excesse, giving them too much: For the full proof of this, I referre the Reader to learned [a] *Voetius* select disputations concerning that question, *penes quos sit potestas ecclesiastica*, (where hee doth at large relate this and their opinions about the Magistrates power, after the Synod of *Dort*:) and unto [b] *Vedelius de Episcopatu Constantini magni* (who as all men know gives in that booke power enough to Magistrates in Ecclesiasticals) yet he layes down at large, that as the *Anabaptists*

[a] *Voet. select. Disput. de quæstione penes quos sit potestas Ecclesiastica. Thes. 1. Thes. 4. Thes. 5. Ut autem novus hic agendi modus colorem aliquem haberet, & tanto facilius multorum politicorum favor, aut saltem Tolerantia Remōstranticis novitatibus conciaretur, editus est à Johanne Uttenbogardo Ecclesialistæ tunc Haga comitano tractatus de jure supremi Magistratus in Ecclesiasticis. Edita fuerunt Gratii pietas ordinum, Episcopii disputatio de jure Magistratus circa sacra, Barlæi declamatio seu Philippica quædam in ministros qui orthodoxam & receptam religionem tuebantur, &c. Præter quæ vulgares & vernaculi libelli, quorum numerus innumerus, & conciones Remonstrantium nihil aliud quam authoritatem & potestatem magistratuum perstrepebant: & nescio qua invidia orthodoxos pastores, eorumq; legitimos conventus & actiones Ecclesiasticas gravabant. Et hæc quidem inptimis in dictis duabus provinciis; nam in Geldria aliter canebant, aut mussitabant: quod Ill. Curia conatibus ipsorum minimè faveret. Idem fere accidebat in Frisia Amstelredami, atq; alibi, ubi magistratus omnia contra Presbyteria & pastores non statuebat ex nutu, aut in favorem Remonstrantium. Post habitam Synodum Dordracenam, libelli ipsorum vernaculi longè alio stilo conscripti sunt, quin & in ipsa Apologia (quam tamen magistratibus probari volebant) cap. 25. potestatem hanc non parum limitant, ac contrahunt, quam tamen tam liberaliter antehac admensi erant.*

[b] *Vedelius de Episcop. Constant. magni. pag. 3, 4, 5, 6. Arminiani è contrario in excessu peccant. Etenim ante Synodum Dordracenam contendebant, sub magistratu orthodoxo Ecclesiam per se nullam habere potestatem spiritualem: ministros Ecclesiæ Officio suo defungi nomine magistratus, ita ut magistratus, quia ipse per alia negotia concionari, &c. non possit, per ministros doceat qui vices ipsius gerant in docendo, quemadmodum vicarius Trajani Imperatoris vices gerebat sui Imperatoris. Et sic ministros non habere suam potestatem à Christo, sed à Magistratu, qui & quidem solus eam potestatem immediatè à Christo acceperit: Gubernationem Ecclesiæ assignabant soli magistratui, ab ea excludentes ministros, nisi in quantum essent vicarii & instrumenta, seu servi magistratus: Speciatim electionem ministrorum seu vocationem, ita depositionem tribuebant soli magistratui, &c. Contendebant etiam ad solum magistratum immediatè sub Christo pertinere judicium quando controversiæ fidei ortæ sunt in Ecclesia. Post Synodum in Confess. & Apol. cap. 25. negant ejus aut officium esse, ad decreta Synodica, ut verbo Dei conformia sint, observanda obligare homines sua auctoritate & potestate ulla coactiva uti in ea parte, negant etiam magistratum jus habere in privatos conventus, sed tantum in exercitia quæ in templis seu locis publicis ad Magistratum pertinentibus instituuntur. Nam cum rebus suis ita consultum putarent, aliter statuebant & contrarium, quemadmodum alibi a nobis est ostensum.*

nabaptists and *Socinians*, following the *Donatists*, give too little to the Magistrate; so the *Arminians* did offend in the excesse. For before the Synod of *Dort* they contended, that under the Orthodox Magistrate the Church had of it self no spirituall power. The Ministers of the Church did perform their office in the name of the Magistrate, so that the Magistrate, because he for other businesses could not preach, *&c.* he did preach by the Ministers; they gave the government of the Church to the Magistrates alone, they gave the calling of Ministers and their deposing to the Magistrate alone, with many other such, but after the Synod they denie 'tis their right and office to oblige men by their authoritie to the decrees of Synods however agreeable to the word, or to use anie coactive power in that case, *&c.* in which they take away as much from the Magistrate, as in other things they seemed to give: And it may be feared however these Apologists now to ingratiate themselves, and being let alone in their Church-way, say, they give more to the Magistrate then the Presbyteriall, and that they professe to submit, and to be most willing to have recourse to the Magistrates judgement and cognizance, and examination of Ecclesiasticall causes, yet when they shall come once to be crossed, and the Parliament by the advise of the Assembly to settle the Government of the Church, and by their authoritie to bind them to the things agreeable to the word, we shall see then what they will say of the Magistrates power; there are too manie speeches alreadie since the meeting of the Assembly (out of their feare how things may goe) which have fallen from manie Independents, that prognosticate they will doe by the Parliament as the Remonstrants did after the Synod of *Dort* by the States. 2. But whatever you say here, that you thinke you give more to the Magistrates then the principles of the Presbyterian-Government will suffer them to yeeld, I do much doubt it, and do judge that in manie things you give no more in Ecclesiasticalls then the Presbyterians; and in others you give lesse, and they give more. M. *Robinson* in his Apologie saith of himselfe and his Church, that in the point of the civill Magistrate and his office, they hold altogether the same thing which the *Belgicke* Churches do, and that to their Confession in this point they doe *ex animo* agree. Now the *Belgicke* Churches are Presbyterians, and your Church-way and M. *Robinsons* differ not much, so that till we know what you give more to the civill Magistrate, then M. *Robinson* and his Church doe, I cannot believe you, especially considering that M. *Burroughs* (one of you) in his Lectures upon

Robinson *Apolog. cap. 3. de magistratu polit.*
Idem prorsus sentimus de magistratu & illius munere quod Ecclesia Belgica & earum confessioni hac in re, ex animo suffragamur.

Burroughs on Hosea, sixth Lect. pag. 164, 165, 166.

on *Hosea*, speaking of the power of Magistrates in Church-affaires, gives no more to them then the rigidest Presbyterians, namely, *That the King is supreme Governour to governe in a civill way by civill Lawes, so as to see Christ not dishonoured, so as to keep out Idolatry, to protect the Church, to punish enormities that are there, to defend it from enemies: In that sense he is said to be the head, but that title of supreme Governour being understood in a civill way is more proper.* Now it were easie out of *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Zanchius*, and many Presbyterians to show more power given to Kings by them in matters of Religion, then by M. *Burroughs* there, so that I have more reason to judge of your principles by what Mr. *Burroughs* writes particularly, and by way of answering doubts of conscience, then from a Narration in generall, and from *we think more then the principles of the Presbyteriall-Government will suffer them to yeeld.* In other things you give not so much to the Magistrates, as the Presbyterians.

[a] *Jun. lib. 1. de Pontif. cap. 7. not. 2. Nos ita distinguamus, magistratus quo magistratus est humanæ societatis caput, humana ordinatione, quo Christianus vero est divina societatis in Ecclesia membrum, divina ordinatione, et in eadem custos et vindex ordinis, ut membrum electum ipsum, et not. 4. Christiani, sunt præstantia Ecclesiæ membra.*

First, whereas the [a] Presbyterians do acknowledg the Protestant Prince & Magistrate, an eminent Member of the Church, and in their greatest Assemblies & Counsells give him an eminent place and power, you according to your principles do not own him for a member of the Church, neither shall his children be admitted to Baptism, nor he to the ordinances, though a Protestant and Orthodox, unlesse you account him a visible Saint, *&c.* neither do you give him so much power or vote, no not in a particular Church in any Church-matters of censures, admissions, election of officers, *&c.* as you do give to one of your serving-men, and, the supreme Magistrate and his children though brought up, and professing the true Religion, may be and will be kept from the Sacraments all their dayes.

[b] *Voet. Disp. de quæst. penes quos sit potestas Eccles. part. 1. Thes. 4. 5. Rejicimus hac nova dicta Remonstrantium. cap. 25. Apolog. quorum primo: non posse magistratum ad decreta Synodica verbo Dei conformia observandum sua authoritate obligare et constringere.*

[c] *Apollon. jus magist. circa. sacra par. post: cap. 3. exam. qu. 12. statuimus quod magistratus potestatem habeat coactivam, qua res Ecclesiasticas ex præscripto verbi Dei constitutas, legitima via urgeat, et subditis imponit ad disciplinam Ecclesiæ stabiliendam et Ecclesiasticis tuendam ordinem.*

[b] The Presbyterians give to the Magistrate a coercive and coactive power, to suppresse heresies, schism, to correct troublers and unruly persons in the Church, to tie & bind men by their authority to the decrees of Synods made according to the word of God, which power, as *Voetius* showes, only the Remonstrants with the Libertines did not admit, but all the Presbyterians do reject such opinions, that the Magistrate could not by his authority binde and compell men to observe the decrees of Synods, conformable to the [c] word of God: now doe you

you allow the Magiſtrates ſuch a power? By your pleading for tolerations of Religion, and for libertie of conſcience, and that conſcience is not to be tied; and by your ſpeaking againſt impoſitions of things lawfull and agreeable to the word, as ſet formes of Prayer decreed by Synods and ſuch like, 'tis verie ſuſpitious you allow not ſuch a power to Magiſtrates, and your good friend *M. S. in his anſwer to the obſervations and conſiderations upon your Apologeticall Narration pleading your cauſe denies, and pleads againſt this coercive power of the Magiſtrate.

*M.S. to A.S. p. 55. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60.

3. The Presbyterians give a great deale of power to the ſupreme Chriſtian Magiſtrate in the Reformation of Religion, and in repairing and building the houſe of God, as might be ſhowne out of *Calvin, Zanchius, Peter Martyr, &c.* but whether the Independents give as much, when they allow private men to gather and make Churches and Miniſters, to doe ſuch publike workes, and that without leave, nay againſt the minde and lawes of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, I queſtion: There is a Tractate in my hands about a Church, that goes under the name of one of you, wherein Civill Magiſtrates are cut off, and Miniſters too from having anie power to make Churches, and "*the immediate Independent* "*power from Chriſt is given to the Saints onely, to gather and combine* "*themſelves in ſuch an Aſſembly without expecting warrant from any Go-* "*vernours whatſoever upon earth: Saints as Saints have a right and full* "*power to caſt themſelves into the fellowſhip without asking the conſent of* "*Governours and Civill Magiſtrates, who have no power in the marriage* "*of their people, nor ſhould have, it being an act of naturall civill right,* "*and as Magiſtrates have no power over Family-Government to appoint* "*whom I ſhall admit into my Family, &c. much leſſe have they power o-* "*ver Chriſts Family; this union of a Church is a ſpirituall right which is* "*tranſcendently out of the ſphere of the Magiſtrates authority, and the Apoſtles* "*taught the Saints to do it without asking leave of the Magiſtrates, yea not to* "*forſake it though the Magiſtrates forbad it*, Heb. 10. 25. Now I believe you cannot ſhow me anie principle in Presbyteriall Government, nor quote me the judgement of any Presbyterian that cuts ſhort the power of the Orthodox Proteſtant Magiſtrate about Congregations and Aſſemblies as this doth.

4. The Presbyterians do grant the Magiſtrate a power about the publike exerciſe of the Miniſterie, that 'tis ſo farre ſubject to the direction of the Magiſtrate, that without his approbative authority or confirming authority, or his toleration of it, it ought not by the Church to be publikely begun

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in his territories, nor practised. * *Apollonius* of *Zeland*, who writ an Answer to *Vedelius* by the command of the *Walachrian Classis*, was a great Presbyterian; and in that answer must needs show it, upon occasion of *Vedelius* giving so much to the Magistrate in Ecclesiasticall things, yet he grants the Magistrate this power about the exercise of the Ministery. Now whether your Principles allow this to the Magistrate, let your practises speak, about your making Ministers, and exercising of it as you doe.

* *Concedendum publicum ministerii exercitium cum omnibus suis circumstantiis politicis & βιωτικαῖς consideratum, eatenus magistratus directioni subjectum esse quod absque authoritate ejus approbativa, seu confirmativa, seu tolerantia jurisdictione, ab Ecclesia publicè in ejus ditione institui, & cum apparatu politico executioni mandari non possit; nisi leges Reipublicæ fundamentales subditis id concedant & tribuant. Apollon. jus majestatis circa sacra: par. post. cap 3. Exam. quæst. duodecima.*

5. The Presbyterians grant to the Magistrates a power in private meetings as well as in publike Churches, over exercises there, as well as those in the publike places: So * *Voetius, We reject that noveltie of the Remonstrants that the Magistrate hath no power in private meetings, but onely in publike Temples:* Now whether you allow the Magistrates a power concerning your private meetings, or onelie over the publike meetings, or whether you doe not with the *Arminians* make the ground of this power in the *Magistrate*, the granting of a publike meeting-place, I desire to be satisfied from you. But by all this the Reader may see in these particulars, you doe not give more power to the Magistrate; for the Presbyterians give what you give, and not onelie so, but they give that which you denie, and so give more then you: But Brethren wherein and in what doe you give more to the Magistrates power then the Presbyterians? Had you exprest wherein the Presbyterians give too little to the Magistrates power, and in what their principles are defective, and wherein you give more, you had dealt fairely and ingeniously, and a man might have knowne where to have had you, and how to have answered you, but to accuse thus in the generall, and not to signifie the crime, is not just; but as you do throughout your Apologie under the figge-leaves of darke, doubtfull, generall speeches, cover your opinions, least your nakednesse should appeare, so in this place: but not to let you go away thus, but that I may drive you out of your holes and thickets, and divest you of your coverings, and that I may a little take off the *Odium* and suspition that Presbyteriall-Government may lye under amongst manie who know not their principles by reason of this passage of yours; *(The Magistrates power to which we give as much, and (as we thinke) more then the principles*

* *Rejicimus hæc nova dictata Remonstrantium: Magistratus nullam esse potestatem in privatos conventus, sed tantum in publica templa. Voet. disput. penes quos sit potestas Eccl. Thes. 4.*

principles of the Presbyteriall-Government will suffer them to yeeld) I will propound some questions to you to draw out what you hold about the power of the Magistrate in Ecclesiasticall things, and to give some further light for the present of the Presbyterian Principles concerning the power of Magistrates (reserving the particular laying down what the Presbyterians give to the Magistrate in Ecclesiasticall things, and what not, till my Rejoynder shall come out to your Replie.)

1. Whether the power of the Magistrate about Ecclesiasticall things be a power extrinsecall, objective, coercive, indirect, mediate, accidentall and consequent, or spirituall, intrinsecall, formall, proper and antecedent: Now concerning the first, the Presbyterians give as much to the Magistrate as you, nay more, as hath been partly shewed already: but for the other the spirituall, intrinsecall, formall, *&c.* If you ascribe to the Magistrate, as I think you do not, nor your principles do not yeeld it; unlesse according to your second great principle laid down in the 10. and 11. page, you are since the Assembly to please the Parliament the more (as you may imagine) come off from your former judgment and practise. I do refer you for satisfaction to the three most learned, select Disputations of [a] *Voetius* and unto [b] *Walæus* excellent answer to the tractate of *Uttenbogardus* (so strong that the Author could never reply again, though in book published he promised to do it,) & unto (c) *Apollonius* learned answer to *Vededlius* Dissertation.

[a] *De quæst. Penes quos sit potestas Ecclesiastica.*
[b] *VVala. Tract. de officio ministrorum, & authoritate atq; inspectione quam magistratus super ministros habere debet.*
(c) *Apollon. jus majestatis circa sacra.*

2. I aske of you whether the civill power doth contain the Ecclesiasticall formally and eminently, so as that power can give and produce the other? or whether there is an intrinsecall dependance of the Ecclesiasticall upon the Politicall in their nature, forme, and exercise of them? or whether there doth not reside in the Church all Ecclesiasticall power absolutely necessary to the building up of the Kingdome of Christ, and salvation of men, even when the Magistrate is not of the Church?

3. I aske of you whether in writing this passage of your Apologie you considered and remembred all those differences and distinctions given by so many excellent Divines, as *Junius*, *Zanchius*, *Amesius*, *&c.* concerning those two powers, Civill and Ecclesiasticall, and their administration, and in particular amongst the rest, that difference taken from their (d) matter,

(d) *Altera differentia à materia sumitur, subjectoq; administrationum. Politica administrationis subjectum esse res humanas in definitione nostra posuimus, Ecclesiastica divinas esse & sacras docuimus. Iunius Eccles. l. 3. c. 4.*

and the subject, wherein they make the subject of politicall administration to be humane things and matters, but of Ecclesiasticall to be divine and sacred, and if so, whether do not Presbyterians according to those differences and distinctions (which distinctions are acknowledged also by your selves, as by M. *Robinson* and by some of you in your printed bookes as (I remember) give the Magistrate that power in Ecclesiasticals, which is given him in the word of God.

4. Considering all Ecclesiasticall power and right is commonly by Divines reduced to a three-fold head, namely *potestas* δογματικὴ, διατακτικὴ, κριτικὴ, which of these powers do you give more to the Magistrates then the Presbyterians, or in all of them do you give more, or do you not? For the present that power you seem to give the Magistrate, and intimate it that you give more then the Presbyteriall principles allow (as may be gathered from the following words in p. 19. and from those words in p. 17. *The Magistrates interposing a power of another nature, unto which we upon his particular cognizance and examination of such causes professe ever to submit, and also to be most willing to have recourse unto*) must fall under the least head of the power of judging and determining in matters Ecclesiasticall, and that upon complaints and appeals; now the Presbyterians in that give the Magistrate a power about the use and abuse of Ecclesiasticall Discipline and Ecclesiasticall Causes and businesses, yea and definitive too, namely, a politicall, objective, consequent power, which may be diversly exercised, both ordinarily and extraordinarily in a Church constituted and in a good estate, and in a Church fallen and corrupted; *Voetius* in his disputations upon that question, *In whose hands the Ecclesiasticall power is* (a great Presbyterian in that question) grants and gives to the *Magistrate a publike judiciall power of judging, not only with the judgments of knowledge, but definitive in causes and matters Ecclesiasticall, which judgement is consequent, not antecedent, because the ultimate disquisition is not in that, whether that bee true, but whether they will by publike Authority maintaine and execute that.* So * *Apollonius* in his Answer to *Vedelius* where he strongly pleads for the Presbyterians in that point of Ecclesiasticall power, yet gives much to the Magistrate ordinarilie in a Church constituted & well reformed in the point of this part of power, and extraordinarilie

* *Habere magistratum quæ talem publicam potestatem judicialem seu jucandi, judicio cognitionis non tantum, sed & definitive de negotijs & causis Ecclesiasticis. Quod judicium consequens est, non antecedens (neq; enim sunt ἡγούμενοι in Ecclesia) ad hæc præsuppositive est Theologicum, sed formaliter politicum; quia disquisitio ultimata in eo non est, an hoc sit verum, sed an velint illud publica authoritate mori et exequi. Voet. de quæst. penes quos sit potestas Eccl. par. 1. Thes. 4. Apoll. jus majest. circa sacra, cap. 2. par. post. pag. 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68.*

traordinarily in the ſtate of a Church corrupted, and greatly diſordered, when the doctrine is corrupted, and the Sacraments contaminated with idolatrous rites, and diſcipline turned into tyrannie, and when the Miniſterie and all Eccleſiaſticall meetings both inferior and ſuperiour conſpire to oppreſſe the truth of God, and to eſtabliſh tyrannie in the Church, in ſuch caſes the Magiſtrate may do many things beſides the ordinary way: Now let me intreat you to conſult the books of the Presbyterians, and eſpecially *Apollonius* anſwer to *Vedelius* of the ſeverall particulars of the power of Magiſtrates about the uſe and abuſe of diſcipline in a conſtituted Church, beſides the power given them in extraordinary caſes, and in your Reply to this Anſwer ſatisfie me what you give more. But let me tell you whatever power you five may have found out for the Magiſtrate, which the principles of Presbyteriall government will not ſuffer them to yeeld (ſome new power may be like that device of Non-communion of Churches, and Proteſtation to all Churches that they may do the like) yet your Churches may not grant it, and ſo the Magiſtrates ſhall be never the nearer; the power you give the Magiſtrate in the 17. and 19. pag. is not yeelded by manie of your own Churches whereof you are Miniſters; A gentleman, a prime member of one of your Churches, immediately after the comming forth of your Apologeticall Narration diſclaimed and renounced that power of the Magiſtrate expreſt by you, in the hearing of a Miniſter, a Member of the Aſſemblie, who related it to me. But what is it wherein you give more to the Magiſtrates, ſure there is ſomething you mean and aime at in it, if we could find it out; ſuffer me to gueſſe at it, and you ſhall ſee though you do not formallie expreſſe ſo much, yet I have ſome reaſon to judge ſo: Firſt, Do you not meane in this phraſe, *the Magiſtrates power, to which we give as much, and as we thinke, more then the principles of Presbyteriall government will ſuffer them to yeeld*, that your Church-way conſiſting all of particular Congregations, and not growing into great bodies by combinations and Synods, the Magiſtrates power is greater over you, in that he may eaſily deal with you, and diſſolve you at pleaſure; but for a power to grow into ſo great a body, an Eccleſiaſticall power as large as the civill, ſo combined, this may be formidable and dangerous to the State, and too great for the Magiſtrate hereafter to rectifie; this hath been by an active Independent upon diſcourſe of theſe points ſuggeſted to me, and how farre one of you hath reaſoned thus in the hearing of manie, againſt Presbyteriall government, and for Congregationall, you can remember: Or ſecondlie, Doe you underſtand by this phraſe, that when hereſies, ſchiſmes or ſtrange opinions are broacht in your Churches, and you cannot tell what to do with them,

nor how to suppresse them, nor how to have the persons censured, being so powerfull in particular Congregations whereof they are members, in such a case you give the civill Magistrate a power to question them for these heresies, schismes, and to imprison, banish, *&c.* if they do not revoke them; *New-England* practising the way of Independencie, and not having Classes and Synods, that have authoritative power to call to account and censure such persons, were necessitated to make use of the Magistrates, and to give the more to them, a power of questioning for Doctrines, and judging of errors; and punishing with imprisonment, banishment, and they found out a pretie fine distinction to deceive themselves with, and to salve the contrarietie of this practise to some other principles, that the Magistrate questioned and punished for these opinions and errors (which now for want of Ecclesiasticall discipline and censure they knew not what to do with) not as heresies and such opinions, but as breaches of the civill peace, and disturbances to the Common-wealth, (which distinction if the Parliament would have learned from you, and proceed upon, they might long agoe have put down all your Churches and Congregations, and justlie have dealt with you, as the Magistrates in *New-England* did with M. *Williams* and the Antinomians, Familists and Anabaptists there, and yet have said they punished you not for your consciences, nor because of such opinions, but because your opinions, waies and practises were an occasion of much hurt to the Common-wealth, a breach of civill peace, a great cause of manie people sitting so loose from the Parliament, a great hinderance to the Reformation, and a ground of much distraction to the publike, and of strengthening the enemie,) whereas the Presbyterians give the power in cases of heresies, errors, *&c.* that are not remedied in the particular Congregation, to Classes, Synods, Assemblies, to question, convince, judge of, censure and to apply spirituall remedies proper to spirituall diseases, which I am confident of, had such been in *New-England* in the Presbyteriall way, there had never been so many imprisoned, banished for errors, nor the Magistrates put upon that distinction. Or thirdly, Is it that you do give power to the Magistrate in Ecclesiasticall things of the ultimate determination of matters purely Ecclesiasticall (which the Presbyterians principles do not) as now in matters of doctrine, and in matters of scandall, and in matters of censures, excommunication, deposition, *&c.* which are brought before, and have past in Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, to appeale from them to the civill Magistrate, and to carrie causes from thence to civill Courts, to repeale and revoke them; Your words and passages about the Magistrates power implie this, and I find that manie quick-sighted men, as the

Walachrian

Walachrian Classis, nay a whole Synod after them in their late Letters to the Assemblie apprehend you so, and therefore I may upon good grounds judge, besides the two former, that you aime at this third, in saying you give more to the Magistrates power then the Presbyterians: Concerning which question, it being a point that I have not much studied, I shall not declare my judgment in it; But in the Church of *Israel* it seemes that in the things of Jehovah the last judgement did belong to the chiefe Ecclesiasticall Assemblie which sate at *Jerusalem*, Deut. 17. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 verses, as *Junius* in his Analysis illustrates that place, and the arguments brought by *Apollonius* in this point, with his answers to *Vedelius* arguments have a great deale of strength in them, and I intreat you in your Reply, if you will formally own the giving of this power to the Magistrate, that you will answer that second chapter of *Apollonius*.

Apollon. *lus majest. circa sacra*, cap. 2. *examen quæ stionis septimæ.*

But to draw toward a conclusion of the comparison of the effectualnesse between the two wayes, supposing all you say of *Submission*, *Non-communion*, *Protestation* were true, as also that you *did give more to the Magistrate* then the Presbyterian, and that in spirituall matters, in cases of difference, injuries, *&c.* you would from the Church *have recourse* to the Magistrate and submit to his judgement, and that you did allow and would stand to the Magistrates *assisting and backing the sentence of non-communion against Churches miscarrying according to the nature of the crime, as they judge meet*; (notwithstanding you have determined it, that *without all controversie your way of Church proceeding will be every way as effectuall as the other can be supposed to be,*) yet I must tell you, it falls farre short of the Presbyterian way, both in preventing and remedying sinnes, errours, offences, and in promoting knowledge, godlinesse and peace in the Churches; For suppose *non-communion of Churches* were a way of Christ and a remedie (the contrarie to which I have at large showne,) yet you must confesse 'tis but a lower remedie, not an *authoritative, powerfull, dreadfull* remedie and meanes like that of excommunication, which is the highest and greatest censure in the Church, the Churches thunderbolt, and Anathema, a remedie and last meanes, which recovers a sinner when all others will not, as admonition, suspension, deposition, and so when *Non-communion and Protestation* will not: In the Scriptures are laid down manie eminent fruits and effects of excommunication in the people of God, which are not of anie censure else, and I might fill a book with the ends, benefits and fruits of this censure laid downe by Divines in their Tractates and common pla-

ces of Ecclesiasticall discipline and excommunication, but I will name only that of the Professors of Leyden: * "Excommunication is the last remedie and the sharpest for the subduing of the flesh in a man, and for the quickning of the Spirit: and the most efficacious example least the sound part should be corrupted: But against them, who persevere in their contumacy and impenitency vis the onely meanes to free the house of God of leaven, and the Church of Christ from scandalls; and so to vindicate the Word and Sacraments from prophanation, and the Name of God from the blasphewing of them without. Now pray shew us in the Scripture anie where the excellent fruits, benefits, ends of non-communion of Churches and Protestation against them, as we can of excommunication in 1. Cor. 5. 5. 2 Cor. 2. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. 2. Thess. 3. 14. 1 Tim. 1. 20. And then for that other remedie of the Magistrates power added to *non-communion*, to seeke out wherein non-communion may be defective to excommunication, and for that purpose you say you give more to the Magistrates power, that so what you faile and come short in Ecclesiasticall power, you may make it up in giving more civill power in Ecclesiasticall causes, the result of which must needs be this, that though in your Church-way, you have not so much Ecclesiasticall *authoritative power for miscarriages*, and for reducing Churches that fall into heresie and schisme, yet you give more civill power, and allow the Magistrate more to interpose for helping and reducing, so that lesse Ecclesiasticall power and authoritie with a large civill power to backe it, will be everie way as effectuall as much Ecclesiasticall authority, with a small civill power: But of this I shall shew you your mistake, because the question is of Church matters, and matters of conscience and the inward man, and of the Kingdome of Christ: Now the remedies and meanes appointed for these are spirituall and Ecclesiasticall; namely spirituall punishments: Christ saith, *my Kingdome is not of this world*; and the Apostle, 2 Cor. 10. 3, 4, 5. *The weapons of our warfare are not carnall but mighty through God to to the pulling downe of strong holds, by which the Spirit and the inward man, even every thought is subjected to the obedience of Christ*: spirituall remedies and meanes must be used in the Kingdome of Christ, and by them Christ doth his worke, and hence in Ecclesiasticall discipline, and those scandalls in

* *Nam si remedium extremum est; certissimum est ad eorum in bonum domandum, ac spiritum vivificandum, & exemplum efficacissimum, ne pars sincera trahatur; adversus vero eos qui in contumacia & impœnitentia perseverant medium unicum ad Dei domum ferventes ex Ecclesia Christi scandalis liberandam, atq; adeo verbum & sacramenta a prophanatione et nomen Dei ab exterorum blasphematione vindicandum. Synops. Purit. Theol. Disput. 48. de Eccl. disp. 4. thes. 59.*

in the Church (which is the point in hand) punishments in the bodie or or in the purse, *&c.* which can be by the power of the Magistrate, have no place at all; * neither can such meanes which are of a different kind from the spirituall Kingdome of Christ, produce those effects which belong to that heavenly Kingdome: 'Tis out of the sphere of the activity of the politicall Magistrate to subdue the inward man, or to inflict spirituall punishment upon the consciences: And there is nothing more common in the writings of the most learned and orthodox Divines, then to shew that the civill power and government of the Magistrate, and the Ecclesiasticall government of the Church are *toto genere* dis-joyned, and thereupon the power of the Magistrate by which he deales with the corrupt manners and disorders of his people, is in the nature and specificall reason distinct from Ecclesiasticall discipline. For the power of the Magistrate, by which he punishes sin, doth not subserve to the Kingdome of Christ the Mediator, that he may apply efficaciously, to the elect ἀντιδόσματα of the Propheticall and Priestly office of Christ; he doth not affect the inward man and conscience with spirituall punishment, neither is this instituted of God and sanctified as the meanes for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of Christ. Hence also by Divines, the manifold difference between the censure of excommunication and the punishment of the Magistrate is observed, * *Zanchius* doth accurately shew the difference between them, *The cause of excommunication is not the punishment of sin, but the salvation of the sinner, and the edification of the Church, and the glory of God: but the scope of the civill Magistrate and his office, is that he should punish the sin it selfe, neither doth it look to the salvation or damnation of the offender: whereupon although the sinner repent, yet he doth not spare, but punisheth according to his office: But the Church according to Christs doctrine doth not strike with the spirituall sword, unlesse he be impenitent, neither is this done for death but for salvation, therefore where any one repents the Church receives him:* so that in substituting the Magistrates power in defect of excommunication, and giving a great deale more civill power for want of spirituall to make it as availeable for those spirituall ends of the Church, is to leave the proper remedies and means, and to take up others; and I would desire you to answer me, whether the proper

* *Illa vero quæ a spirituali Christi regno alienâ sunt, effectus qui ad hoc cœleste Christi regnum pertinent producere nequeunt; proinde quod institutione divina ad eos producendos non sunt sanctificata. Disciplina Ecclesiastica nihil statuit in hominum bona, jura, dignitates, fortunas, &c. Sed pœna quæ clavium potestate infligitur spiritualis & quæ hominem internum et spiritualem ejus statum concernit. At vero extra spheram activitatis politici Magistratus est internum hominem subigere, spiritualem pœnam conscientiis inferre, vel hominum animas ab iis liberare.* Apollon. *Ius Majest. circa sacra.* cap. 2. *exam. quæst.* 7. pag. 109.

* Zanch. *de Discipl. Eccl.*

proper remedies and means appointed for such ends and uses, or the improper remedies, nay remedies appointed and intended mainly for other ends, be most effectuall and powerfull to accomplish those ends? as also whether a part of a proper remedy being assisted and backt with a great proportion of a remedy of another nature and kind, can be as effectuall as the whole remedy and means? as for instance, whether a little grace assisted by civility and fairenesse of nature, will do as much to overcome lusts and destroy the flesh, as the highest degrees of grace that Saints may attain unto? and whether a little spirituall knowledge, seconded with a great deale of common and outward knowledge, is as availeable for a Christian conversation as great measures of spirituall knowledge, though a man have but a little knowledge in Phylosophy, Physick, Law? &c. But more particularly to let you see, that your *recourse* unto the Magistrate and the Magistrates assisting and backing the sentence of *non-communion* is not comparable to that of excommunication and Presbyteriall-government; I shall commend to your consideration these eight following particulars;

First, There may be manie sins and errors which the Christian Magistrate meddles not with, are not matters of his cognisance, if you would have recourse to him, or if the sentence of non-communion be pronounced against a Church because of impenitencie in them, he hath nothing to doe to assist and back it; there are no lawes for such things which yet being spirituall evills and prejudiciall to the soules of men, should be dealt with to recover men out of them: Learned *Zanchius* in his differences that he gives between the censure of excommunication and the Magistrates censure, obserues this for a speciall one: "*There are many wickednesses a-*
"*gainst which the Magistrate truly Chri-*
"*stian doth not use to proceed, neither is*
"*bound by his Lawes; as for instance, pri-*
"*vate fallings out, hatreds, &c. as also ma-*
"*ny evill manners both domesticall and publike, which doe not disturbe the pub-*
"*like peace or the publique good, but the Church ought not to beare these, but to correct them according to Christs institution*; Now what will you doe in this case, here your recourse of submission to the Magistrate, with the Magistrates backing *non-communion* faile you and conduce nothing at all.

Ad hæc multa vitia sunt subtrahenda in quæ non Magistratus ut quidam Christiani animadvertere solent: sed tantum ea quæ sunt publica inimicitia, simultates, participatio cum idololatris in illo cultu, dissimulatio veræ religionis: denique multi mali mores, tum domestici, tum publici, qui non turbant magnopere publicam, aut domesticam, aut hominum communionem. Ecclesia vero nullum quidem ferre debet sed corrigere juxta Christi institutum. Zanch. de Discip. Eccles.

Secondly, In case the Magistrates be of those Churches and chiefe in those sinnes, and miscarriages for which Non-communion is denounced against

those

thoſe Churches (as may eaſily fall out) how will you have the ſentence of *non-communion* now backed and aſſiſted? both thoſe Churches and the Magiſtrates members of them, ſhall have nothing to back non-communion, to make it equivalent to excommunication; nay I aſk of you, who bring in more of the Magiſtrates power to ſupply the want of excommunication, where the particular Church will not, and the Claſſes may not, what ſhall be done with the Magiſtrates offending, what means hath God left for the recovery of them? you cannot imagin they will make uſe of their power againſt themſelves, now if they may not have ſpirituall remedies and cenſure, as of excommunication, this principle of the Magiſtrates power fals ſhort here, whereas in Presbyteriall Government ther's a remedy & redreſſe for all, and certainly Gods ways of governing his Church provides for all, wheras yours fals ſhort

3. What if upon the ſentence of non-communion denounced againſt a Church or Churches, the Magiſtrate judge otherwiſe, and hold the ſentence of non-communion unjuſt and will not aſſiſt it, (which may ordinarily fall out) what effectuall means hath the offending Church of being reduced now by vertue of the Magiſtrates power? and what muſt be done in this caſe? May the Magiſtrate revoke that ſentence of the Church, or Churches offended, and declare it null, and cauſe the Churches who paſſed the ſentence to recall it, and to continue their communion? and ſuppoſe thoſe Churches will not revoke it but ſtand to their act, what ſhall be done in this caſe? who muſt judge now between theſe Churches and the Magiſtrate? may the Magiſtrate now by his power which you give him in Eccleſiaſticals, in ſtead of backing ſentence of non-communion againſt a Church miſcarrying (as the Church ſuppoſed) now turn his power againſt the Church for denouncing the ſentence of non-communion unjuſtly (as the Magiſtrate judgeth) and not onely declare it void, but puniſh this Church or Churches for denouncing ſuch a ſentence of non-communion, and declaring and proteſting to all other Churches that they may do the like? and what if all the Churches proteſted to, will continue to renounce communion with the Church cenſured with the ſentence of non-communion, notwithſtanding the Magiſtrates refuſing to aſſiſt that ſentence, nay though he declare it void? or what if upon the Magiſtrates declaration, ſome of the Churches give the right-hand of fellowſhip againe, but others will not, what muſt the Magiſtrate or the Churches doe in theſe caſes, and the like? conſider well of it, whether this effectuall way of yours, the Magiſtrates aſſiſting and backing the ſentence of non-communion, inſtead of a powerfull meanes to relieve injured perſons, or reduce Churches, will not prove a meanes of great differences and diviſions, as well betweene the Churches and the Magiſtrate, as between the Churches themſelves.

4. Must the Magistrate assist and back the sentence of non-communion against the Church or Churches offending and persisting therein, upon the coming of it to him? and so punish it according to the nature of the crime as he judges meet, without first hearing what the Church can say for it selfe, or must he first heare them both? and in case more Churches mutually renounce communion with one another, and protest against each other with other particulars instanced in about the remedy of non-communion under the fourth generall head, what shall he doe in these cases, must he heare all?

5. What Magistrate or Magistrates doe you meane, to whom in Ecclesiasticall causes you will have recourse unto, and that must assist and back the sentence of non-communion? Doe you mean the supream and chiefe Magistrate, the highest powers only, or all inferiour Magistrates in their severall stations and divisions where these things fall out, as Majors of Cities and Towns, Justices of Peace and such Magistrates? or doe you mean the Christian Protestant Magistrate, or Magistrates, though Heathens, Popish, Arminians? or do you mean by the Magistrates power that there shall be Courts of civill Judicature erected in every division of the Counties, to heare the differences that fall out between Churches offended one with another? *&c.* or what do you mean? If you understand the supream Magistrate only and the highest powers, can they alwayes heare or attend unto; through the many great businesses of State affaires, all the differences, scandals, schismes, that both in particular Churches, and between Churches will fall out in a Kingdome or Nation in this way of non-communion and protestation against one another? (especially in Independent Churches, where people make Churches and Ministers in that way they doe, and have no fixed rules nor certain way) I warrant the supreame Magistrate, and higher Powers, Kings and Parliaments shall have something to doe to back the sentence of non-communion, and to heare all causes and differences: But if you understand the inferiors also, Majors, Bayliffes, *&c.* I represent it to you, what fit Judges most of them are to judge and determine of such difficult Ecclesiasticall causes in heresies, schismes, scandals, *&c.* which fall out amongst the Ministers of Churches, and between Churches themselves: Againe, if you understand the Magistrate indefinitely and absolutely, any Magistrate, though Heathen, Popish, Arrian, as Mr. *Robinson* doth in his Apologie; and I find it in your manuscripts and principles, that you take it so; judge then in your selves if the Church hath not remedies among themselves: how fit are they who understand not Christian Religion, nor the doctrines according to godlinesse, to judge of the great differences between Churches, and to assist the sentence of non-communion against Churches? if the Apostle *Paul* reproved the *Corinthians* so in 1 *Cor.* 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. for carrying

carrying matters from the Church (even the smallest matters the things that pertained to this life) unto unbeleevers, how would he blame the carrying of things spirituall and Ecclesiasticall unto Heathen from the Ministers of the Church: or doe you understand, that there shall be Courts of civill Judicature to appeale unto, &c. then there must be certain Lawes and rules agreed upon, as for particular Churches, so between the Churches, according to which they must proceed to back the sentence of non-communion and protestation, &c. (which yet you practice not.) Now the many inconveniences that would come of such Courts you may easily fore-see, so that this is not like to be an effectuall remedy.

6. What shall be done in case there be no Magistrates at all, to take any notice, in matters of Religion and Church government, but leave Churches to themselves, in that; as it was with you in *Holland*, there were no Magistrates medled with the government and order of your Churches, nor none to have recourse unto, or to back the sentence of Non-communion, you being *in a place and State where no outward violence or any other externall authority, either civill or Ecclesiasticall would have enforced you*, what shall in this case supply the defect of Excommunication, and of an Ecclesiasticall authoritative power? Hath not the wisdome of Christ provided remedies in the Church for all the internall necessities of the Church, and constituted it a perfect body within it selfe?

7. Whether can it be rationally and probably thought that in an ordinary way the having recourse unto the Magistrate though orthodox, and the submitting to his particular cognizance and examination of such causes, with his backing the sentence of Non-communion in Ecclesiasticall causes, in cases of sinnes, errours, differences that arise in Churches, should be as effectuall and sufficient a remedy as the way of Classes and Synods? and that the Magistrates interposing their authority and power of another nature will be as good as *the Authoritative Presbyteriall Government in all the Subordinations and proceedings of it*? Now that 'tis not probable it should be, or that it should serve in stead of Synods and Classes, take these probable and rationall grounds. 1. All wanton wits and erroneous spirits, all your Sectaries and Novelists are rather for this way then for Synods and Classes, (though most of them would have neither to meddle at all in matters of Religion, as the *Socinians*, *Anabaptists*, &c.) Thus the *Arminians* were against Classes and Synods, and all for the power of Magistrates, and it was their chiefe Engine by which in those sad dayes of the *Netherlands*, they encreased their party, and came to such a height. Sectaries hope that if they can decline the Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, they shall what by flattery, and what by delay (through

other great businesses of State) and what by sophismes and fallacies, and what from principles of policy in many States-men, and what by friends, &c. effect that which they have no hopes at all by Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, they know the Presbyteries and Synods are able to discover their fallacies, answer their arguments, will mind those businesses wholly, are not to be wrought upon by State principles, &c. Now if in experience and reason, this way were as powerfull to reduce a Church or Churches from schisme and heresie, they would never be so much for this way rather then Presbytery. 2. Naturall reason dictates that they are best able and fittest to judge and resolve of things, who do above others give themselves to the study and profession of those things, as Physitians can best judge of wholesome meats, and diseases, and Lawyers of the lawes and differences arising in them, a Counsell of Warre of difficult cases and points in war; And therefore in things that belong to the spirituall good of the soule and the Church, the Ministers of the Church are most likely to resolve and to remedy things: Can it ordinarily be expected that the Magistrate should in matter of doctrine and opinion, in matters of schisme, and in matters of worthinesse and abilities of Ministers, and in many cases that arise, be able to judge and determine matters, as the Ministers and Pastours of the Church? 3. Those who have most time and leisure to attend a work and businesse, to sift into it, to heare all that can be said, and can mind it, they being able and understanding are likeliest to determine best, and bring things to a good end: we see in experience that able and honest men through multitudes of businesse, delay long, slubber over businesses, and cannot do things so effectually as they ought, and seldome prove good Arbitrators in difficult, intricate cases: Now Magistrates through many great and necessary businesses of State, having large dominions, cannot so well attend as the Classes and Synods to heare and examine all the differences, scandals, schismes, &c. that do and may arise both in Churches, and between Churches (especially as would fall out in the Independent way, and particularly in this way of submission, Non-communion and mutuall Protestation) but matters would be delayed and neglected, or escape wholly, or be huddled up. 4. To these I might adde as followes, that the Magistrate through his just greatnesse would not know the spirits and dispositions of Ministers and people, nor of other matters so well, as the Ministers who live among them, and converse with one another frequently, neither would there be that easinesse of accesse to the Magistrates and great persons, as to their Ministers and Pastours, with other such like.

8. But in Ecclesiasticall matters and differences, upon the Magistrates interposing his power, what is it you will submit unto? and what will you allow

low him to doe? And what is that power you will give him in backing the sentence of Non-communion upon his judgment of the cause; and how far and in what will you obey him, that so we may understand how this Civill power is intended by you for a remedy and helpe in Churches and between Churches? For instance, will you submit not to gather Churches, nor set up Assemblies without his leave, and upon complaints of the many mischiefes and differences occasioned thereupon, will you upon his hearing both sides, and judging that those who are gathered shall be dissolved, dissolve them, and not meet in those wayes any more? Will you upon some members complaining to the Magistrate of some Minister or Ministers in their Church for preaching erroneous and unprofitable doctrine, meere novelties, subtilties, and the Magistrate upon particular cognizance and examination of such causes, judging that he shall preach no more, will the Minister forbeare upon it? or the Church to heare him in case the Minister would not yeeld? will the Church now goe chuse a new and Orthodox Minister upon it? or in case a member or more be unjustly excommunicated, and they complaine to the Magistrate, who calling the Church to account, and hearing both sides, shall judge on the Complainants side, and now order the Church to absolve him, and order them to confesse their sinne publikely, and appoint them to keep a day of humiliation for it, and order them to give him such a sum of mony for the wrong, trouble, and losse of his time in following the businesse against them, will the Church now submit to doe all this yea or no? What say you to these and the like cases? Now I aske you this in the close, because you pretend a great deale of submission to the Magistrate, and to give him much power (which though you did grant, yet for the many reasons and grounds already specified, this would not counteravaile the way of the Presbyterians in their spirituall censures by Presbyters and Synods) whether you clearely and plainly allow this to the Magistrate? because I find in Manuscripts, and heare that in Sermons by men of your Church-way, the contrary is publikely preacht & held, as for example in that Treatise about a Church which goes under one of your names, there is this passage, with more to that purpose. "*The*
"*Saints need not expect their power or leave for to gather together, for admit-*
"*ting it such a combination is unlawfull, nor should they forbeare it out of con-*
"*science of the Magistrates prohibition, indeed if the Magistrate should force or*
"*compell them to forbeare or persecute them, they may forbeare actuall assembling;*
"*Act. 8. not because the Magistrate forbids it, but in mercy to themselves: And*
"*indeed about a Church Christian Magistrates have no more power then Heathen*
"*Magistrates had.* So that this is spoken by you where Magistrates are Christian, and where Churches are already settled: And adde to this that *M. Sat his*

Reply

Reply an defence of your Apologie is against coercive and coactive power in matters of Religion, and that you all hold a toleration, & that the Magistrates ought not to hinder men, or punish them for the matter of their consciences, how then notwithstanding all your discourse of the power of the Magistrate, which added to Non-communion will be an effectuall means to relieve persons injured, to reduce Churches and persons going in schisme and errours, shall persons injured be remedied, or Churches and persons reduced? For suppose the persons or Churches that now fall into such errors and schismes will pretend, nay 'tis so really, that they in their conscience hold errours for truths, and thereupon withdraw from such Churches to others may suppose those who now receive these new truths should cast out of their fellowship, and excommunicate some for holding otherwise: as for instance a Church falling into *Antinomianisme* should censure some of their members that remain orthodox for legall Christians, and for being enemies to free-grace? and should judge themselves bound to doe so in these and such like cases, what remedy is there for miscarrying Churches by all the power of the Magistrate you pretend to give to him? But this is brought in here by you, and given to him, to put of that strong argument against your way, and that you may have something for present to blind the eyes, and stop the mouths of many that look no further, that it may serve your turne at such a straight; whereas upon other principles you deny the Magistrate this when it shall come to be a matter of conscience: And now by all the severall particulars under this fifth head, the understanding Reader may observe that not only in many respects your Non-communion and Magistrates power are not a remedy comparable to the Presbyteriall way, nor proper, nor to the nature of the offences and things in question, a way instead of bringing things to an end, redressing and mending matters amisse, that will be but the beginning of more strife and making more differences and evils then either it finds, or can heale, the mother and nurse of Confusions, Disorders, and endlesse contentions; but also that all the power here pretended to be given to the Magistrate upon examination is no such matter, nor will not amount to make good the ends propounded; whereas the Presbyteriall Government here scandalized, as either wholly inconsistent with this forme of Civill Government, or else not giving it it's due, will be found by its principles not onely to have powerfull spirituall remedies for all spirituall evils of the Church, but will be found in many respects to make use of, and to give honour and power to the Civill Magistrate as a nursing Father from first to last, even in the ordinary way of the Order and Government of the Church beyond you, besides what they give more in extraordinary cases, in a Church miserably

corrupted

corrupted, disordered, &c. Of which the Reader may read at large in *Apollonius* (who was a great Presbyterian, *cap.* 2. And so learned * *Zanchius* in his Tractate *de Magistratu*, shewes 'tis in the power of the Magistrate not to suffer Heretickes nor erroneous persons to preach, and he gives him coactive punitive power to cut them off. *Beza* a great Presbyterian, in his Epistles and other writings, in matter of Religion doth not exclude the Magistrate, but gives him that power in some things which you deny: but besides that power they give the Magistrate, they stand for, as needfull in the Church, Classes and Synods for the Government of it. *Zanchy shews that disciplina cannot take place, where the Ministers never meet together, the meeting of Ministers and Ecclesiasticall Synods we judge most necessary; As no Politie, Common-wealth or Kingdome can consist without their meeting, Senates and Councels, so there is need of Synods for the governing of the Church and for the preventing of heresie.* In a word all things are loose in independent Government, every one is left, and may take liberty without controule, to doe what is good in their own eyes, if they like not any Church whereof they are members, they may goe to another, nay, a few in a Church disliking that Church may goe make a Church themselves, and make Ministers, and hold what they will, as Mr. *Symp son* did with some few more, and since some have rent from Mr. *Symp-sons* Church as he from Mr. *Bridge*. The rules they goe by are loose, nothing being fixed nor certain among them, and there can be no setlednesse of mind nor consistence of Principles; in that way simple and well meaning people according to their Principles must be drawn till they come to that, to hold that there are not true Churches, nor Ministers at all yet upon the earth (which principle begins to take, and spread already amongst many Independents.) In a word, that liberty and looseneſſe, which is from first to last, in Independent Government, holding no authoritative Ecclesiasticall power out of the particular Congregation to remedy or prevent any matter, and that which is in the particular Congregation, being on many Grounds and Principles of theirs so slight and weake, as the only subject of excommunication being *no other kind of sinnes then may evidently be presumed to be perpetrated against the parties known light*, &c. as that two or three Saints or now of late but one or seven may with-draw from Churches defective and impure, and make Churches and chuse all officers, &c. with other like; (so that what need they care then for that Church of which they are members though cast out, seeing they can make new, and have all to their own mind, be chief there) is a dange-

* Illicite nullo modo Reges sunt vivere, ni illorum temporalis vita alijs æternam pœnam et. Zanch de magistr. 168. Beza Epist. 83.

b 20. p 651. De quar. precept. 713.

rous

rous temptation even to ſober men, to make them preſume to broach that, practiſe that which elſe they would never have done. But in the Order and Government of the Reformed Churches there is conſiſtence, unity and ſtrength (as is evident by a hundred years viſible experience of Gods bleſſing from Heaven upon them) there is alſo a certainty and fixednesſe of rules agreed on, both for particular congregations, for Claſſes and Synods; there is an awing and preſerving of officers and people in their bounds, and keeping them from running out to errours, &c. there being no man, be he never ſo able or ſubtill that can eſcape calling to account and cenſure. Magiſtrates and Miniſters have their power in the Church without uſurpation and confuſion, and to conclude in the words of the Commiſſioners of the Church of *Scotland*; *Were Magiſtrates and civill power acquainted with this order and government of the Church, they would find their authority increaſed, their worke more eaſie, and their places more comfortable thereby.*

And now having given an anſwer to that part of your Apologie under that inſtance of *the government and diſcipline of the Churches*, by ſpeaking fully of thoſe five heads unto which I referre all your diſcourſe about *the government and diſcipline of the Churches*, (beginning in pag. 12. and ending in 21.) I will for a cloſe ſpeake ſomething to ſome of your paſſages contained in this part of your Narration, which could not ſo well be taken in, nor ſo properly animadverted upon under thoſe five heads without the Readers being much confounded and entangled.

1. To that paſſage, p. 14. *We had for the moſt part of the time we were abroad three Elders at leaſt in each congregation whom we were ſubject to*: I ask if the Churches were ſubject to the Elders, you many times having but three, & ſometimes but two, nay one Elder, the government of your Churches then was either Monarchicall Government, or Oligarchicall at beſt? And if the Churches were ſubject to the Elders, who were the Elders ſubject to, the Elders then were under no ſubjection, but if the Churches were ſubject to the Elders, and not the Elders to the Churches, riddle me what is the meaning of all thoſe phraſes, the Church ſtill did ſo and ſo, not the Elders, the Church at *Roterdam* depoſed M. *Ward*, and not M. *Bridge* and an Elder or two, and ſo M. *Nye* and M. *Goodwin* the Miniſters, were ſent by the Church, and that Church which had offended, confeſſed their ſin, and reſtored their Miniſter to his place againe, which ſure was not M. *Bridge*, and a lay-Elder or two.

2. To thoſe paſſages of Churches offended, calling to an account Churches offending, proceeding to *full and open tryals, and examinations, to judiciarie charges, and depoſition of witneſſes openly before all commers of all ſorts, as can be expected in any Court where Authority about them enjoyns it, and of a particular Church being cenſurable by neighbour Churches about them.* I deſire

to

to put this disjunctive proposition, either this power of calling to an account, examining, deposing witnesses, censuring them, &c. are acts of ruling and government, and in the Churches challenged acts of subjection, or they are not; if you grant they be acts of rule and government, then there is an authoritative power which Churches have out of their Churches, and you grant it in such acts at least, though not in that of excommunication: But whether if it be so in these, that of excommunication will not follow, let it be considered, for either the censure of excommunication is not founded upon common grounds, on which callings to account, and some censures are, or else there is some proper peculiar grounds in the nature of that ordinance, or in the Scripture forbidding that, (though allowing others,) neither of which will be found to have a foundation in Scripture, and if so, why then do you make all this adoe of *entire, full, complete power within your selves*, and are against the combination of Churches in Classes, and Presbyteries, to doe that constantly, certainly and presently upon scandals that fall out in a Church, which you doe at best but at uncertainties, and after a long time, when the remedy may come too late, a yeare or two afterwards; But if you answer these are no acts of government and rule in this Church or Churches, but meerly acts of consultation, advice, perswasion, and that when the Churches offended have heard all, they only give their counsell and advice, and commend it to them, but it is in their liberty to do or not to doe; for though they submit to a hearing, and open tryall by vertue of the principle of submission, yet they submitted not to stand to the determination and agreement of that Church, or Churches: I answer, if you meane no more then the bare power of counsell and advice in all this, and no power of Authoritative determination and decision, this is no more, nor you give no more to the Churches offended then to particular Christians who may counsell them in such cases; And why then doe you hold out such words, and your practise *of a full and open triall*, and what speake you of *rooms for complaints, and of subjecting to an open tryall, and review of what can be brought, and of being censurable by neighbour Churches, &c.* Whether be not all these the usuall phrases and expressions of acts of power and government? can there be so much as triall, and examination, and judiciary charges, and deposition of witnesses without authority, much lesse censure? can you ever shew it either in civill government in Common-wealth, or in Ecclesiasticall in Churches, out of Scripture, or stories, where all these acts were exercised and practised by persons who onely had power of counsell and advice? and if you cannot, how can you make it good, but that this must be more then advice and counsell, namely *authoritative power*. It is given as a rule by your

ſolves, that in matters of a common nature, 'tis in Eccleſiaſticall government as in civill; Now if in all civill Aſſemblies, all theſe acts and practiſes be acts of authoritie and government, why holds it not ſo in Eccleſiaſticall? And further to reaſon, though Churches be ſifters and equall, each conſidered by it ſelfe, yet in caſes of offence and difference between Churches, the Churches complained and appealed unto, to whom the reſt ſubmit, ſhould now be greater, and have more power in this thing, then the Churches ſubmitting, and their acts ſhould be authoritative, as in reaſon, 6, or 8, men falling out, and chooſing and ſubmitting to others to heare the buſineſſe, and make an end of it, theſe are now greater, and have a power and authority over theſe *quo ad hoc*, and in theſe acts and what they doe are acts of power, which they muſt ſtand unto or ſuffer the penalty.

Thirdly, You ſpeake more then once upon occaſion of this ſcandall committed in that Church at *Rotterdam*, of Churches as in the plurall number, *ſiſter Churches* to be conſulted with before hand, and of your *Churches mutually and univerſally acknowledging that principle of ſubmiſſion*, and how *that Church which with others was moſt ſcandalized, did by Letters declare their offence, and of requiring a full and publike hearing before all the Churches of our Nation*: Now what, and where were thoſe other Churches of whom all this is ſpoke? I grant, that at *Arnheim* was one Church that Mr. *Bridges* Church ſhould have conſulted with, or have ſubmitted to, but where were any other Churches? I will yeeld the Church at *Arnheim* might by Letters declare their offence; but I know not what other Churches did by letters doe the like; I grant the Church at *Arnheim* was a Church of our Nation, before whom the offending Church did yeeld a publike hearing, but I know of no other, I will not queſtion but that the Church at *Arnheim*, and Mr. *Bridges* Church, did upon the offence of depoſing Mr. *Ward*, acknowledge that principle of ſubmiſſion, and ſubmit to one another, but I doubt no other did then mutually ſubmit: for beſides the Church at *Arnheim* offended, and Mr. *Bridges* Church offending, there was no other Church of your way and communion for the offending Church to conſult with, or that did write letters, or before whom the buſineſſe was heard, &c. for I ſuppoſe and judge Mr. *Simpſons* new Church being at that difference with Mr. *Bridges* Church, and Mr. *Bridge* with him, Mr. *Bridges* Church ſhould not have conſulted with Mr. *Simpſons* before hand, and that Mr. *Bridges* Church would not have yeelded the principle of ſubmiſſion, to have ſubmitted to a full triall and examination of all proceedings before Mr. *Simpſons*, and in caſe Mr. *Simpſons* Church had ſent letters declaring their offence, they would have declined it as partiall, and as accounting them the parties offending; and I never heard

that

that Mr. *Sympſon* with ſome meſſengers of his Church joyned with the meſſengers of *Arnheim* in the triall of that buſineſſe of Mr. *Ward*, or ſate as Judges, &c. ſo that I cannot tell why you uſe Churches in the plurall number thus all along in that buſineſſe, but that the Reader might conceive for your greater authority and eſteeme, and for the greater ſolemnity of the action, there were more Churches beſides that at *Arnheim*.

Fourthly, For thoſe two Gentlemen who were ſent with the Miniſters of the Church offended, to require an account, whether were thoſe Gentlemen Elders of the Church of *Arnheim*, or private members only? If they were not Elders, why were private members ſent before Elders, ſhew us a rule for that? and ſatisfie us how private perſons and no officers of the Church ſhould repreſent the Church? but if they were Elders, why do you name them Gentlemen only and not ſpeake of them as officers?

Fifthly. Whether though you make ſo ſure of it, yet it be not to be doubted upon the grounds of reaſon and light of nature, *that it is not more brotherly and more ſuited to that liberty, and equality Chriſt hath endowed his Churches with*, but a point of greater authority, inequality and uſurpation for foure men (grant them to be a Church repreſentative) to take upon them what thoſe foure members of *Arnheim* did to a whole Church for ſo many daies, ſo fully and judiciarily to proceed (as you write in the 21. page) then for a whole Presbytery of Miniſters and Elders, or a grave Synod to call to an account, and heare the offences of two or three in a particular Church, and together with that Church repreſentative to decree ſuch cenſures, as publike acknowledgement of their offences, or excommunication, &c.

Sixtly, I much wonder how you can call the meeting of Mr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Nye*, with two Gentlemen more, calling Mr. *Bridge* with the reſt of that Church, ſuppoſed to be delinquents, ſuch a *ſolemne Aſſembly, the ſolemnity of which hath left as deepe an impreſſion upon your hearts of Chriſts dreadfull preſence as ever you have beene preſent at*: Certainly you have either been but at few ſolemne Aſſemblies where Chriſts dreadfull preſence hath beene, or elſe your fancie was mighty high at that time, as to make ſuch a deep impreſſion upon you of a dreadfull preſence as ever you have been at: Let me ask Mr. *Nye* what was this Aſſembly, beyond the ſolemne generall Aſſembly of *Scotland*, where you were preſent when the great ſolemne Covenant of the Kingdomes paſſed, of which you write ſo highly into *England*? or was it beyond the Aſſemblie of Divines, wherein not onely two of you are for a conſultation, but all you five, (with ſo many other godly Divines, where inſtead of two Gentlemen aſſiſting then, here the *Worthies of both Houſes*,

Lords and Commons assist,) nay a *Theatre of all other the most judicious and severe, where much of the piety learning and wisedome of two Kingdomes are met in one* (as your selves confesse afterwards in the 27. pa.) Iam of the mind there are ordinarily many Assemblies, and where you may have beene, that have a more dreadfull presence of Christ then that had. The Church meeting to partake in the Lords Supper, cal'd the dreadfull and terrible houre by some of the Fathers, the Church meeting to excommunicate an impenitent sinner, (where there is a promise of binding in Heaven what is bound on earth) which you cannot shew in your principle of submission and non-communion: But this parenthesis is drawne in, in the relation of your practise (like many other particulars in this Booke) to take with the simple people, and to possesse them with the excellencie and majesty of your Congregationall way, beyond the Presbyteriall and Synodicall, and this passage here with many others in your *Apologeticall Narration*, are paralell to passages in Mr. *Butchelours* letters, (who after his suddaine conversion to the Church-way,) for want of better arguments to winne the people, and to evince the truth of the Church-way, writes thus. *For mine owne part, though but a few weekes agone when I was in* England; *I found some objection in my spirit, against the way of the* Holland *Churches, and conceived wrongfully (as Mr.* Edwards *now doth) through misunderstanding cast abroad by them whose sore eyes cannot endure the light of truth, yet since by a good hand of providence I have been at* Rotterdam *and beheld the beautifull face of holinesse, the lively representations of Jesus Christ in his ordinances, the sweet and blessed communion of the Saints in all love and dearenesse, mine objections are removed, mine heart is convinced, and I think many thousands in* England *as well as my selfe would soone be overcome at the very sight thereof. A soule of gracious ingenuity needs no other Rhetorick to winne it then the presence of these heavenly administrations?* But what Anabaptist or Antinomian cannot say all this for their way, and more too, crying out the revishments of the spirit, free and glorious grace, *&c.*

Rotterdam, September, 4. 1641. New-stile.

7. You speake of consulting with sister Churches before that you proceed to matters of great moment, and that you professed publikely in cases of concernment you ought so to doe, *pag.* 16. and yet in *page* 15. you claime a full and entire power compleat within your selves untill you shall be challenged to erre grossely, now how doe these agree? for if you must consult before hand, then 'tis not entire, full, compleate power before miscarrying, and 'tis but a power of consulting and advising after miscarriages and erring grosselie, and not an *authoritative power*.

8. Whereas you call Presbyteriall excommunication, *excommunication pretended*

pretended; how much more truly may we call *non-communion pretended*, and *Profeſſation pretended*? for beſides that in the Scripture, excommunication is to be found, there is ſuch a cenſure there, but no ſuch ſentence at all as *non-communion*; there is alſo ground in Scriptures, that Churches may be excommunicated as well as particular perſons, and of this in the Obſervations and Annotations upon your *Apologeticall Narration*, page 43, 44. you may read ſtrong proofes, which your good friend *M. S.* thought beſt to take no notice of, as not knowing how to anſwer them, and Iturn them over from *M. S.* to you five, to give a ſatisfying anſwer.

9. For that learned Speech made at *the introduction and entrance into that ſolemne Aſſembly, as the preface to it, that it was the moſt to be abhorred maxime that any Religion hath ever made profeſſion of, &c.* I ſay 'tis but a meere flourish, and according to the Proverbe, here's a great deale of cry, but a little wool, and notwithſtanding all theſe ſwelling words, you are guiltie indeed, what in words and phraſes you denie, and in the more proper place when I ſhall ſpeake to it in *page* 23. of your *Apologie*, I will evince you are guiltie of Independent libertie.

Apolog. *Thus we have rendred ſome ſmall account of thoſe, the ſaddeſt dayes of our pilgrimage on earth, wherein although we enjoyed God, yet beſides many other miſeries (the companions of baniſhment) we loſt ſome friends and companions, our fellow labourers in the Goſpell, as precious men as this earth beares any, through the diſtemper of the place, and our ſelves came hardly off that ſervice with our healths, yea lives.*

To this Section which containes the cloſe and winding up of that part of your Narration, during the time of your exile. I anſwer, it is *a ſmall account* indeed you have rendred to what you ſeem to hold out, and to what ſuch a Narration ſhould have amounted, concealing and reſerving ſo much of your practiſe and waies, (as I have before obſerved.) And as for thoſe words, *the ſaddeſt dayes of our pilgrimage on earth, &c.* I wonder at them, ſure you have been verie happie men, and have enjoyed many verie good daies, that in your whole pilgrimage on earth of fortie yeares and upwards, thoſe three or foure yeares in *Holland*, where you enjoyed ſo many outward comforts and things, ſhould be your ſaddeſt daies; for my part I cannot ſay ſo; Neither am I ſatisfied in thoſe words, *beſides many other miſeries the companions of baniſhment*: For though in ſome baniſhments there are *many other miſeries the companions of them*, as deprivation of wife, children, friends, maintenance, with nakedneſſe, hunger, wandring up and downe in ſtrange, and deſolate places, harſh uſage in a ſtrange land, yet you felt none of theſe: But on the contrarie, you enjoyed wives, children, eſtates, ſuitable friends

good houſes, full fare, I cannot imagine fewer miſeries, (had you beene in *England*) could have waited upon you, then did there, (unleſſe that of [illegible] ter diviſions, and deadly differences, the conſtant companions of your Ch[illegible] way:) I could name many more miſeries did abide ſome of us that [illegible] behind, and might have done you too, had you ſtayed in *England*: [illegible] thoſe two inſtanced in, particularly the loſſe of *ſome friends and com[illegible] your fellow-labourers in the Goſpell, and your ſelves comming off hardly [illegible] healths, yea lives*, I muſt tell you, thoſe cannot properly and truly be called the companions of your baniſhment; for thoſe two Miniſters (namely Mr. *Archer* and Mr. *Harris*) according to all reaſon and humane probabilitie might not have lived longer in *England*, both of them (as it is well known) having been long weake men in conſumptions, and ſometimes nigh unto death before they went, and for one of theſe Mineſters, Mr. *Archer*, he was ſo far from being worſe that he grew better and ſtronger in ſtomacke, ſleep, ſtrength and ſpirits after he went over into *Holland*, (as beſides the many letters writ into *England* to friends of all ſorts of the healthfulneſſe of the place where he was with ſome of you, and of the encreaſe of his ſtrength) I have letters written to me under his owne hand, to ſhew the contrarie to what you affirme both of the diſtemper of the place, and of the many other miſeries the companions of that baniſhment: In one letter he writes thus: *For Holland, it is much better then I expected; for pleaſantneſſe, health, plenty of fleſh and foule: we alter not our Engliſh dyet in any thing.* Utrich *is a faire City, a Univerſity with godly profeſſors, full of Engliſh, a man may live as ſweetly there as at* Hartford. And in another, *My ſtomacke, ſleep, ſtrength and vigour, are ſenſibly increaſed, the Lord be praiſed.* And beſides theſe letters the thing it ſelfe ſpeakes, for whereas in *England* he was not able to preach nor had not hardly three times in three yeares, after he came into *Holland* was Paſtor of the Church at *Arnheim*, and preached conſtantly, and had ſtrength to beget a ſonne, whereas he being married many yeares in *England* never had any child. And not onely from him but from others alſo you have beene many letters ſent to commend the places where you loſt *fellow-labourers*, to be ſo healthfull and pleaſant as to reſemble them to [illegible] in *Suffolke* and *Hartford*. As for that high praiſe of thoſe two worthy Miniſters, *as precious men as this earth beares any*: I thinke it becomes you well they being yours, and of your way, and cannot be interpreted by the underſtanding Reader, but that you take occaſion here, as in all other places of your *Apologeticall Narration*, to magnifie and cry up your owne party the more to make people to be in love with your way, which had *as precious men as this earth beares any*: but I judge it is too high and hyperbolicall; for [illegible]

I dearly loved the men, and doe acknowledge they were *pretious*, and believe they are gone (as that great * Divine writing to *Chytraus* wee shall meet there) where *Luther* and *Zanchius*, doe excellently well agree; yet I must needs correct that phrase, *as this earth beares any*: For I am of opinion that both in learning and piety they were inferiour to some, not onely in the earth which is wide and spatious, containing Churches and Ministers more pretious then you know of, but in this earth of *England* and *Scotland*, and your Encomium of them (if you remember what you writ before of some pretious men alive now in New-England *as ever this Kingdom bred*) and granting that *New-England* is the earth, doth amount to this, that these two Ministers Mr. *Archer* and Mr. *Harris*, were as pretious men as ever were in *England*, which you must pardon me if I doubt it, (for I believe Mr. *Whitakers*, *Reynolds*, *Baynes*, *Greenham*, *Dod*, *Brightman*, with many more were more pretious:) As for that other instance, *Your selves hardly off that service with your healths, yea lives*; I have not heard of any great sickneſſe any of you five had there, (excepting Mr. *Bridge* who came hardly off with his health,) Some of you indeed had Agues there, which you might have had in *England*, in *Suffolk*, or in *Oxfordshire*, and for Mr. *Wards* sickneſſe, I judge it was as well occaſioned, and ſtrengthened by unhappy differences and bitter diviſions between him and Mr. *Simpſon*, Mr. *Ward* and their Churches, and the wicked reports raiſed upon him, diſcontented and troubled his ſpirit, as by the *diſtemper of the* change of the aire; and for others of you, how fat and well liking you came backe into *England*, and how all of you returned well clad and ſhipped, and moſt of us, who lived alwaies in *England*, many can witneſſe, and have ſpoken of it (all which were no great ſignes either of the many *croſſes the companions of your baniſhment, nor of the comming off ſo hardly with your healths and lives.*)

When it pleaſed God to bring us his poore Exiles backe againe in the viſions of the times, as alſo of the condition of this Kingdome, unto our (the powring forth of manifold prayers and teares for the proſperitie became no ſmall part of that publike worſhip we offered up to God in that;) *we found the judgement of many of our godly learned Brethren Miniſteris (that deſired a generall Reformation) to differ from us in things, wherein wee doe profeſſedly judge the* Calvinian *Reformed Churches in the firſt Reformation from out of Poperie, to ſtand in need of a further reformation themſelves: And it may without prejudice to them, or the*

* Melch. Adam. vit. Gryn. Gryneus to Chytraus ſalutem, & inter alia haec: Stamp ampliora in his terris, ut viſurus ſum: ubi tamen conveniemus, ubi Lutherum cum Zanchio optime jam ſtarvent.

imputation of schisme in us from them, he thought that they comming new out of Popery (as well as England) and the founders of that Reformation not having Apostolique infallibility, might not be fully perfect the first day, yea and it may hopefully be conceived, that God in his secret, yet wise and sacred dispensation, had left England more unreformed, as touching the outward forme, both of worship and Church-government, then the neighbour Churches were, having yet powerfully continued a constant conflict and contention for a further Reformation for these fourescore yeares, during which time he had likewise instead thereof, blessed them with the spirituall light (and that encrasing) of the power of Religion in the practique part of it, shining brighter and clearer then in the neighbour Churches, as having in his infinite mercie on purpose reserved and provided some better thing for this Nation when it should come to be reformed, that the other Churches might not be made perfect without it, as the Apostle speakes.

Having Apologized for your selves and way in your principles, opinions, practises and carriage towards all sorts both before your exile and in your exile; here in this section you come to Apologize for your selves, and for what you have done since your comming back into *England*, both before the Assembly and since the Assemblie, untill the time of putting forth this present Apologeticall Narration, which beginning in this section is continued by you in the following sections to the 30. page: But brethren why doe you in the beginning of this part of your Apologie give your selves that name of Gods *poor Exiles*, was it not enough to have said, *when it pleased God to bring us back againe into our owne Land*; but you must call your selves *Gods Exiles* and *poore Exiles*; I wonder you termed not your selves *poore pilgrims*: But the reason why you name your selves so here, and in this Apologie take occasion so often to speake of exile and banishment, may easily be guessed, namely to commend your persons and way the more to the people, and for want of better, to take them with such popular arguments, as suffering a grievous exile: Thus in many other passages of your Apologie, you bring in and insert many such kind of phrases to worke with the people the more, but doe insinuate many things against the Presbyteriall way, as of engagements, publike interest, &c. But let me a little examine whether you five can fitly be stiled *Gods poore Exiles*, I thinke to speake properly, you neither were *Exiles*, nor *poore*, for you were not banished, nor forced out of your owne Land, neither by being brought into the High-Commission Court, or by Letters missive, and Attachments out against you, (as ever I heard) but (excepting Mr. *Burroughes* who fled in haste, as being in dangers for words spoken) you went at your owne times over into *Holland*, with all convenien-

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ces of your Families and other companie. Among the Greeks *Exul* was called *exiliens*, and so you flying out of the Kingdome, in that sense may be cal'd exiles, but howsoever in some sense you may call it exile, because you did flie out of your own Country (though none persecuted you) to shun persecution before it came, as foreseeing possibilitie of danger, yet you can in no sence be called *poore Exiles*, for you were rich *Exiles*, who in *Holland* enjoyed many conveniences and such abundance, as to be able (some of you) to spend 200. or 300. li. *per annum*, and to doe other expentive acts (which for present I forbeare to name.) And I can produce Letters of many conveniences which you enjoyed there. Letters before quoted by me, of Mr. *Archers*, speake so much. Poore exiles are such who have no certaine dwelling-place, maintenance, friends, but how they can be called poore Exiles, that enjoy wives, children, friends, *full and liberall maintenance annually*, liberty of callings, with all pleasures and delights as much, or rather more then in their owne country, I see not. Suppose some merchants and tradesmen who could not so well nor so much to their advantage follow their callings, and drive their trade in their owne country should for their better advantage, and accommodations in these kinds, goe with their families into another Countrey, can these be called Exiles? Suppose a Minister, who disliking some things here in the present Government to be established; or wanting a liberall maintenance, or fearing the warre, should go over to *Roterdam, Hambrough*, to preach to the companie of Merchants there, where he shall have better meanes, can this man justly be stiled a *poore exile*? Now I leave you and the Readers to make application. As for those words: *Gods bringing you backe againe in these revolutions of the times into your owne Land.* I know God permitted it, and ordered it, but I well know Satan hastened and furthered it, for the dividing of the godly party here, and for the obstructing the worke of Reformation and hindering the setling the government of the Church, that so in the mean time he might increase his Kingdom, and bring in a flood of all errors and licentiousnesse upon us; and Brethren let me speake sadly to you (not out of passion, but out of long and serious deliberation) it had been good for you, and for us that you had continued exiles still, and that neither you five, nor they of *New-England* had heard of the revolution of our times and Gods turning us in mercie, till the Church and government had been setled: I am confident that things had not then beene at that passe now as they are. As for that Parenthesis, *the powring forth of many blessings and teares for the prosperity of the Kingdome, in a strange Land* I will not gainesay it, onely let me

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mind you of two passages in your Apologie, *Our selves had no hopes of ever so much as visiting our own land again in peace and safety to our persons, and the other, when we had least dependencie on this Kingdome, or so much as hopes ever to abide there in peace.* Now take away faith and hope, and endeavours will much cease, and this I judge should much hinder your prayers and teares for the prosperity of the land (for my part I had much hope of the Kingdome, when things were at worst, and I expresst it both in preaching and conference to many, and some can witnesse what I have said to them of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the rest of that faction, and of the revolution of the times) God was pleased so to support my spirit, that I expected and waited (as men do for the light of the morning) when that every day God would arise, and doe some great worke and *change the times and seasons.* As for your *finding the judgement of many of your godly, learned brethren in the Ministery (that desired a generall Reformation) to differ from yours in some things*, that was no marvell, I wonder you could expect it otherwise, being but a few young men of yesterday, and going a way by your selves so different from all Reformed Churches: But I must tell you, you found not onely the judgement of many godly Ministers that desired a generall Reformation, but the judgement of them all, who were in publike imployment, and of any great account to differ from yours, not only *in some things*, but even in your whole Church-way; how-ever that since by your presence, and your politick way of working, and the strong streame of popular applause running that way, some few Ministers, uncertaine, heady, inconstant, wanton-witted men are since come off to your way; but as for your confidence and open profession, that in the things wherein you differed from many of your godly brethren, that you *professedly judge the Calvinian reformed Churches of the first Reformation from out of Popery to stand in need of a further of Reformation themselves.* I answer, they may doe so, and I know no Church yet so perfect but may stand in need of some further Reformation, and the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland* grant you so much, *pag.* 7. *That they are most willing to heare and learne from the word of God what needeth further to be reformed in the Church of Scotland*: Now whether yours and those of *New-England* be so perfect, (though not of *the first Reformation*) as to stand in no need of a further Reformation in government, I much doubt, especiallie considering that letter lately come from *New-England* written by Mr. *Parker*, as also another letter from Mr. *Wilson* of *Boston*, and a terrible Letter from a reverend godlie Minister there, whose name I have beene intreated to conceale (least it might much prejudice him there,) but for answer I must tell you I doe *professedly judge*,

Reformat. of Church-government.

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that in your ſence in the things excepted againſt by you, the Reformed Churches (particularlie that of *Scotland*) need not a further Reformation, namelie to come to your principles of Democracie, Independencie, Libertiniſme, and to keepe all thoſe and their children from admiſſion into the viſible Church whom you keepe out, and to condemne as unlawfull all ſet formes of prayer compoſed by Synods and Aſſemblies (though never ſo holie and heavenlie for matter and frame:) And as to that, *that it may without prejudice to them, or the imputation of Schiſme in you be thought that comming new out of Popery, they might not be fully perfect the firſt day.* I anſwer, they never thought ſo, neither were they ſo fullie perfect in Church-government *the firſt day*, but the reformed Churches (particularly the *French Churches*) had many Synods, Aſſemblies and Colloquies, where points of government and order have been further debated, cleared, and Canons added, and in the Church of *Scotland after doctrine was eſtabliſhed, they were exerciſed in conferences and Aſſemblies about matters of Diſcipline and Government* (which is the perfection ſpoken of here by you) *about twenty yeares.* Beſides conſidering that the Reformed Churches both in *France*, *Scotland* and *Holland*, have heretofore been troubled with the maine of your principles, and have heard all the Arguments and reaſons for them, and againſt their owne way, and that both of old, and now of later yeares, *Scotland* of old having been troubled with the Separatiſts, and the Churches of *France* by *Morellius*, againſt whom *Sadeel* did write, and * *Beza* in his Epiſtles writes againſt that principle of the power of the people, that nothing is ratified except the people preſent by their expreſſe ſuffrages doe decree it, and againſt * private mens propheeying in the Church: and of late (though the controverſie be grown ſo high) yet Divines both in *Holland* and *Scotland* (as your ſelves confeſſe) have writ againſt your way, and can ſee no light in it, and in a generall Aſſemblie of *Scotland* ſince our Parliament, the point being moved and debated there, it was concluded againſt by the whole Aſſemblie, *nemine contradicente*, as a Letter written from that Aſſembly to many Miniſters in the City (which I heard read at a meeting) teſtifies, neither are any of the Reformed Churches yet ſatisfied, by all that hath been written about your Independent government, nor our preſent Aſſembly by all they have heard from you, after ſo many daies ſpeaking for your way; So that what the Reformed Churches ſtand for now, is not as *comming new out of Poperie*, and ſo wanting light (as you aſſert) and therefore though they had not *Apoſtolick Infallibility*, yet they might well be in the right for Church-government, and therefore the Reformed Churches,

Reformat. of Church-gover. pag. 14.

* Bez. Epiſt. 61.

* Bez Epiſt. 85.

and the Church of *England* too judging of government now after above 80. yeares comming out of Poperie, and after hearing all that hath beene said, and that you can say (now after almost a years sitting in the Assemblie.) They yet judge Presbyteriall government by Classes and Synods to be the true forme of Church-government, against your Independencie, so that now the ground you going upon, being taken away, you cannot without great prejudice to the Reformed Churches so peremptorilie judge them (as you doe in this place of your Apologie:) And as your practise cannot be *without prejudice to them, and the imputation of Schisme in you* from them, to set up new Churches and divide from them upon these grounds, so this passage of yours here against all the Reformed Churches, cannot avoid the suspition of great arrogancie and pride, to proclaime your selves to see more then all the Churches in worship and government, and to judge them so: 'Tis a high presumption that five such young men as you are, and no deeplier studied, should thus proudlie, and *tanquam ex tripode*, so magisteriallie conclude against all the Reformed Churches. Certainlie, had you had the humilitie of manie of Gods servants, you would rather have feared, and questioned whether you might not have beene mistaken in your grounds, and therefore modestlie have propounded your doubts to the Assemblie to have resolved them, rather then before the points ever came to be debated in the Assembly (in such matters where you go against the common stream of all Reformed Churches) to have thus professedlie peremptorilie and resolvedlie, both in this Section, and in the next *pag.* 24. determined the questions. And brethren let me friendlie mind you who are you five? of what standing, reading, graces to take so much to your selves; and to be so peremptorie, that you should see that, which all the Reformed Churches doe not, nor are not able by anie of your Arguments, nor what else is extant to see or be convinced of; But as for the close to this part of the Section concerning *the Calvinian Reformed Churches, that it may hopefully be conceived that God left England more unreformed as touching Government and Worship then the neighbour Churches were*, &c. It is a strange speech, and savours of a strange high conceit of your own way of Independencie, and of your great light and abilitie in this Assemblie, (where the Church of *England* is to be reformed) and to speak plainlie, the *English* and sence of all these lines is this, *That it may be hopefully conceived that God in his secret, yet wise and gracious dispensation* hath all this long time for above 80. yeares left *England* more unreformed, and of his infinite mercie on purpose reserved it for this present Assembly, that Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, &c. might bring a new light in Church-government and order, and so *Scotland* and the Neighbour-Churches might be new-

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moulded into their way: But however some of you are men of strong fancies, and all of high confidences of your own opinions and waies, yet I believe you will be deceived at this time, (however you may comfort your selves and Churches with the hopes of prevailing at another time, saying that the Presbyterie shall fall as Episcopacie hath done after it's time) (one of that way for want of arguments having used such words to me) and that *M. Goodwin*, *M. Nye*, &c. wil not be able to effect what they desire and hope for, but it may be rather hopefullie conceived, that in stead of the reformed Churches comming to them, these five members of the Assemblie at last, with others too, upon this glorious Reformation will be brought to joyn with other Reformed Churches, according to the solemne Covenant and oath themselves have entred into.

Apolog. *We found also (which was as great an affliction to us as our former troubles and banishment) our opinions and wayes (wherein we might seeme to differ) environed about with a cloud of mistakes and misapprehensions, and our persons with reproaches; Besides other calumnies as of schisme &c. (which yet must either relate to a differing from the former Ecclesiasticall government of this Church established, and then who is not involved in it as well as we? or to that constitution and government that is yet to come; and untill that be agreed on, established and declared, & actually exist, there can be no guilt, or imputation of schisme from it,) That proud and insolent title of independencie was affixed unto us, as our claime; the very sound of which conveyes to all mens apprehensions the challenge of an exemption of all Churches from all subjection and dependance, or rather a trumpet of defiance against what ever power, spirituall or civill, which we doe abhorr and detest, or else the odious name of Brownisme, together with all their opinions as they have stated and maintained them, must needs be owned by us: although upon the very first declaring our judgement in the chiefe and fundamentall point of all Church discipline, and likewise since it hath been acknowledged that we differ much from them. And we did then, and doe here publikely professe, we believe the truth to lye and consist in a middle way betwixt that which is falsely charged on us, Brownisme; and that which is the contention of these times, the Authoritative Presbyteriall government in all the subordinations and proceedings of it.*

I desire you to resolve me, and the Reader, how the first sentence in this Section, *Your opinions and wayes environed about with a cloud of mistakes and misapprehensions and your persons with reproaches*, can stand with those words in the 24. page: *We found many of those mists that had gathered about us, or were rather cast upon our persons in our absence, begun by our presence again, and the blessing of God upon us, in a great measure to scatter and vanish without speaking*

king a word for our selves and cause. And now if upon your *presence only and that without speaking a word they vanished and were scattered*, how did they then vanish upon speaking for your selves and way, and then how could *this cloud of mistakes, &c.* so easilie blowne away by your breath, nay without your breath, *be so great an affliction to you*, (certainlie you are men verie tender of any mistake, misapprehension or reproach upon you,) but I thinke it may be salved by your comparison as great *to us as our former troubles and banishment*; both much alike great, that is, neither of them: But what mean you by that parenthesis (*wherein we might seeme to differ*) did but your opinions *seeme to differ* from ours, and do they not reallie? why then have you, and do you make all this adoe in our Church? as for your opinions and waies environed with mistakes and misapprehensions, I know nothing for my part hath been fasten'd upon your waies, but what hath beene found in letters, manuscripts, your known practises, and in printed bookes of *New-England*, and in the discourses of your own members and familiars: But if some men who have not studied the points, nor given themselves to understand your way, did mistake and misapprehend you, that was your owne fault, that walking so in the darke, and having been so often desired to give a Narrative of what you hold in difference, never yet would; As for the calumnies cast upon you of *Schisms, Independencie and Brownisme*, with the reasons inserted to vindicate your selves from them, I shall first give a generall answer to them together, and then to each of them apart.

1. In generall, how ever you do in words wash your hands of these imputations, and wipe your mouthes, confidentlie denying them, yet all the water in the Thames will not wash you from all just imputation of these: It is no new thing for men who go in by-waies and maintain errors whether more fundamentall, or superstructorie, to abominate the names and titles given to those opinions, whether from the Authors who first broacht them, or from the matter of them, and to denie the opinions and points charged upon them, by finding out some distinctions, or doubtfull words and expressions to cloud them with, in which sense they wrap up themselves, and deceive manie, and so give other names: I might fill up a booke in giving Instances out of antient and moderne writers of this Artifice: Those who are commonlie called *Saracens*, their name is *Hagarens*, (as comming of *Hagar*) but they would not be so called, but name themselves *Saracens*, sons of the free-woman: The *Schwenefeldians*, cal'd by *Luther*, *Philip Melanthon* and other famous Divines, *Stenckfeldians*, from the ill savour of their opinions, yet *Schwenckfeldins* entituled them with that glorious name, *the confessors*

Cand. Harrie. Schlusselb. lib. de. cimis de Sectis Stenckfeld.

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of the glory of Christ. The Antinomians will not endure to be called by that name, but stile themselves the hearers of the Gospell, and of Free-grace; the old Separatists could not endure to be called Brownists, or Barrowists, (as appeares by the title of Mr. *Robinsons* Apologie,) so, you will not endure the titles of *Schisme, Separation, Independency*, but you call it the *Congregationall government, and the Church way, and an entire, full, complete power*, but by no means Independent government, that will not be indured; As no sin will be called willinglie by its owne name, but takes other names; drunkennesse will be cal'd good fellowship, covetousnesse good husbandrie and providence; so few errors will be called after the name of the first father, or the matter simplie they hold; and I could give you manie reasons of this, amongst others take these; 1. Manie are possessed by bookes and arguments against such and such errours under such names and titles; now that erroneous men may avoid all the dint of the arguments and the impressions such names and termes have left upon manie, they disclaime the old and invent new words and phrases, against which the people have not been possest, the better to take them. 2. Erroneous spirits would have nothing fixt or certain to be fastned on them, upon which able men might bring arguments and reasons against them; But the Reader shall see all this will not helpe you, but that the just charge of these must lie upon you. 2. To answer particularlie, You are justlie charged of *Schisme and Separation*, and if you consult with the Scriptures and Authors both ancient and moderne: *Austin, Calvin, Zanchius, Morneus, Peter Martyr, Junius, Perkins, Parker*, and see what they write of schisme and separation, you will be found guiltie of it, and as for the argument brought by you by which you would cleare your selves from schisme, that it *must either relate to your differing from the former Ecclesiasticall government of Bishops, or to that constitution and government that is yet to come, &c.* I answer, though it relate to neither of them, yet it may arise from other causes, your disjunctive proposition doth not containe a full enumeration of all the causes, or reasons of schisme, for the non-conformists did of old differ from that former Ecclesiasticall government, and yet were never justly accused of separation and schisme, but writ most vehemently against it, neither is schisme to be judged of upon some difference in judgement which may be from that constitution and government, that is yet to come, for though some men should differ from it, as not holding it the best government, yet so long as they separate not from the publike worship and ordinances, neither do draw people into separated Assemblies, they cannot be charged with separation; The ground therefore of schisme imputed to you, comes as from your forsaking our publike Assemblies, and separating from

Gods

Gods ordinances and his servants, because of mixt communion, and setting up of Churches against our Church, and going on still in that way, notwithstanding all the Reformation begun, and that which is likely to be perfected; so also from not joyning your selves with the other reformed Churches. But if you say, that you cannot be counted guiltie of schisme and separation, because you do not withdraw from us with condemnation of us, as no true Churches, nor true Ministers, (as the Brownists do.) I answer, you do the same thing they do, though upon different grounds; Now suppose a woman should withdraw from her husband, and joyn to another ordinarily, yet not with condemnation of him as no husband, but would now and then keepe communion with him; suppose a servant forsake his Master, and joyn to another, yet comes away without railing against him, doth this justifie him? But why make you such a businesse of it (as you doe) as to forsake the communion of all Churches, and of all the reformed Churches, and of joyning to Churches only of such a constitution, if you condemned them not? what though you doe not leave them as Antichristian, Babilonish, as false and untrue, yet if you leave such Churches, because impure, defective, under bondage, not of so good a constitution? in this you condemne them, and so are guilty of schisme: Aske of you, if the members of some of your Churches should, upon grounds, not because you are false Churches, and false Ministers, but because you are not so pure as some others, nor as they could set up a Church? (as for instance, because wicked men are admitted to prayer amongst you, or because the ordinance of Hymnes is not yet setled in all our Churches, &c.) forsake and leave your Assemblies, and yet should openly professe they do not condemne your Churches as no Churches, but only joyn to Churches of a purer constitution, or set up a new Church (as Mr. Simpson did) whether is this a schisme and separation? do you not hold this unlawfull, (especiallie this being without, our consents, nay against them (as not being satisfied in the reasons and causes of such a departure.) Now if it be schisme and separation in some of your members, pray free your selves, and in your Reply wash your Churches from this offence, in withdrawing from ours, and answer that *axiome*, that *magis & minus non variant speciem*, and what ever you can say for your departing from us to enjoy further degrees of puritie, or because our Churches are defective in some ordinances, &c. that your members may for themselves, (for according to your owne confession in Apologie, pag. 3c. *you differ little from us and the reformed Church, yea farre lesse* then the Anabaptists or some sort of Brownists do from you: Now then I put this Dilemma to you, whether is it schisme in your members or not? if it be schisme in them, and they may not leave your Churches,

then

then it is schisme in you, and you may not forsake ours, but if it be no schisme in them, but they may do so, members may still go from one pure Church to a purer (according to their new light,) then satisfie me where you will stay, and make a stand? and what is schisme and separation? and whether a great gap and wide dore be not left open for schisme upon schisme, and separation upon separation, from your Churches to the Brownists, and from the Brownists to the Anabaptists, and so *in infinitum*? And let me tell you, though you who are Schollers have found out these distinctions about our Churches and Ministers, whereby you thinke you salve all, and so make account you are not guiltie of schisme, (as the learned Papists having distinctions about Images, Worship, *&c.* say, they worship not the Images, but the persons in the Images, *&c.*) (though the people who do not so well understand nor cannot alwaies remember such distinction) worship the verie Images, and that with the same worship as they do God,) so the people who by your counsell and example, had forsaken our Churches, they leave our Churches and Ministers as not true, they condemne our Churches and Ministers, and wonder at those passages in your Apologie, page 5. and say they tooke you otherwise, and so they become guiltie of schisme and separation without such distinctions, (though you with distinctions.)

For that title of Independencie *affixed unto you as your claim*, it is well you call it *a proud and insolent title*, had I stiled it so in my *Reasons against Independent government*, it would have beene counted by your side a reviling of the way of God, and a casting great reproach upon Christs government; but I shall give you and the reader a good account for that *title affixed* unto the Church-way and communion that you are of, (and if it be offensive you must blame your selves, & your own partie, and not me:) This Independencie and Independent government, was a name of your own giving, and sure, I, and others might lawfullie call the child by the name the father and friends gave it; To speak nothing of the name of Independent government given to particular Congregations in manie bookes of the totall Separatists maintaining it formallie in those words, it will be found in manie printed books and manuscripts written by manie men of your way and communion, (namelie of the middle way as you call it) who own and call the government of particular Congregations Independant, and reason for it under that name. Amongst others you shall find it in these books, *Protestation Protested*, *Mr.* Davenports *Profession of his Faith*, Sions *Prerogative royall*, * *A Discourse opening the nature of Episcopacy*, *The Answer from* New-England *to Mr.* Herles *booke against Independency*,

* Independencie of particular Congregations pleaded for pag. 138, 191, 202, 203.

dependency, in * *Christ upon his Throne*; and in manuscripts not a few, particularlie in a manuscript intituled, *a Treatise about a Church*, (going under one of your names) speakes often of *Independant power and Independent government*. Besides Independent government hath been preached for at *Margrets* Church in *Westminster*, and the Citie of *London* in those words, so that I wonder how you dare make such a flourish; for my part I should never have invented the name, neither would it have entred into my mind, but that it was common in the bookes, manuscripts and the mouthes of men of your way: And this hath been taken so for granted, that not I alone (who might more easilie have mistaken) writ against the government of your Congregations under that name, but the *learned and Reverend Divines of Scotland* writ against it under that name, (using those termes and phrases often) and the learned Divines of *Holland*, (particularlie *Voetius*) * and a learned and ingenious Divine of our own too, writ against your government under the title of *Independencie*, (whose booke containes many passages particularlie referring to you the Apologists:) And so * Mr. *Channell* who candidlie testifies for you, (even when he would free you from being called Brownists) yet saith you be commonlie cal'd the Independent Ministers, and doth by way of distinction from the reformed Churches, call your Congregations Independent. But yet further to fasten on you (as you are pleased to stile it, *that proud and insolent title of Independencie*) however that you disclaime the title here and in other pages 14, 21. yet you acknowledge the thing abundantlie in the book, namelie *a full and entire power, compleat within your selves, untill you be challenged to erre grosselie*, and then when you are challenged to erre grosselie, and upon examination and deposition it is fullie proved, yet you will not *subject to any Authoritative, Ecclesiasticall power* out of the particular Congregation, this is the onlie thing in your Apologie largelie, and with any seeming strength insisted upon, and for the exemption from that, you have found out the device of *submission and non-communion*, and tell us your solemne practise upon it, with the successe of it: Now what else hath been fastned on you as your *claime* by them who have writ against your way, but this, did any of the Divines commended by you? or did I in my reasons against your government, write in anie other sense, but in the point of Ecclesiasticall government and power? did we lay to your charge in our writing against Independencie, that you challenged an

exemption

a Every particular Congregation is an absolute Church, having no iurisdiction over it but Christs alone, and that immediatelie, page 12, 59.

* Mr. *Henle* The Independencie on Scriptures, of the Independencie of Churches, Rise, growth and danger of Socinianisme, page 65, 66.

exemption of all Churches from all subjection and dependance, or rather, that you should *blow a trumpet of defiance against what ever power, spirituall or civill?* did I, or anie others charge you with *refusing all subjection* to the civill Magistrate? And for that other dependance of consultation and non-communion upon other Churches, the power you give in that kind to Synods, &c. I acknowledge it in my eight reason, and argued from thence to the power of excommunication; why then do you deale thus deceitfullie & doublie, pretending to *abhorre and detest Independencie* as it was objected and pleaded against you, when as besides the verie words and phrases found in so manie printed bookes and notes, you hold all that in the question which is the difference betwixt you and the Presbyterians, as also in some of your bookes, *Independent and entire power* are *termini convertibiles*, (as in the title of *Sims Prerogative Royall*) (which *entire, full, compleat power, is terminus*, and in so manie sillables you own more then once in this Apologie,) so that all your great words of abhorring and detesting the *exemption of your Churches from all power spirituall, or civill*, will not save you from Independencie justlie affixed unto you: As for civill power, it is not the question in controversie, neither was it affixt unto you, and for spirituall power properlie cal'd you denie it all along, in manie pages speaking against *authoritative power often*, page 15, 18, 19. And to put you this Dilemma, either you give authoritative power to other Churches, or you do not, if you do give it, why do you speake so against it in your *Apologie*, but if you doe not give it, why would you make your Reader believe you doe give spirituall power, and are not against it, is not this doubling and shuffling, and troubling the waters, that the Reader cannot tell where to find you, nor what you hold, (too great an evidence of a weake and bad cause, becomming not such men as you would be taken for) truth is open and naked, and doth not seeke out holes and subterfugies, But brethren do not deceive your selves, nor your Reader any longer, if you be not against spirituall power properlie so called of anie Classes or Synods, in reference to particular Congregations, what meat you by all you say from page 12, to the end of the 19? and of all that controversie and Tragedies made by you against the reformed Churches, for giving a power to Classes and Synods; and let me intreat you, (that the controverlie may be brought to some end betweene you and us) in your Replie set down particularlie what you will allow to Classes, Synods, generall Assemblies and Councels, in matter of government? and whether that you will allow and give Authoritie and power yea or no, and what you will not give nor allow them, and then state the question so, and I do promise you

Reasons against independent government, page 19.

in my Rejoynder to applie my selfe to give you satisfaction (as if you except Excommunication; Ordination, or what else) to show you the grounds for them, and if we love truth and peace, either you shall win me, or I you.

2. For the *odious name of Brownisme, together with all their opinions, as they have stated and maintained them, must needs be owned by us.* I answer, Brownisme (as you in these words expresse it) hath not been fastned on you by anie that I know, but on the contrarie, you have been commonlie contradistinguish'd from them, being called Independents, Semi-separatists; and in my reasons against Independent government, I do in manie passages difference you from them; and *for all their opinions as they have stated and maintained them*, namelie drawing such consequences and conclusions, and going so farre as they, I have often vindicated you, but yet for all that you cannot justlie free your selves from the *odious name of Brownisme* in most of the fundamentall principles and practises of your Churches, no not with all your Artifices and specious pretences: As the Brownists growing up, and out of the Anabaptists, did refine and qualifie Anabaptisme in manie things, in government, propheeying, *&c.* So have you refined and qualified Brownisme from the grosseneſse and rigidneſse of it, as it was held by the first Fathers and Authors of it; (as I could show in manie particulars) you do not goe so farre as they, neither are you against some practises of other Churches upon those high termes; but yet for substance, from the first stone to the last, in departing from our Assemblies and constituting new, you agree with them (as by a * parlell between the way of your Communion and the Separatists lately printed doth appeare:) And in a word it is evident thus: You agree with the way of *New-England* (as is confest by some of your selves) and we may judge so by your high praise of them. Now the Churches of *New-England* agree with them of Mr. *Robinsons* Church, who are moderate and qualified Brownists: Now that the Church-way of *New-England* is the same with them of Mr. *Robinsons* Church is proved thus: The Church at *New-Plymouth* was the first companie that planted in those parts, who comming from *Leiden* where they were members of Mr. *Robinsons* Church, a moderate Brownist in his latter time, practised the Church-opinions and waies they formerlie had in *Holland*, and when they of *New-England* went over first (through their conversing with them and nearneſse of scituation) they tooke up and learned their way, (as appeare by these particulars.)

* A brief Narration of some Church courses held in opinion and practise in *New-England*, by *W. R.*

First, *M. W.* an eminent man of the Church of *New-Plymouth*, told *W. R.* that the rest of the Churches of *New-England* at first came to them of

of *Plymouth* to crave their direction in Church-courses and made them their patterne.

Secondlie, Mr. *Cotton* in a letter to Mr. *Skelton* one of the first Ministers that went over thither, writes thus to him, in way of answer to this Position, that M. *Skelton* held: *That our Congregations in England are none of them particularly Reformed Churches, but M.* Lathrops *and such as his.* "This errour "requires rather a Book then a Letter to answer it, you "went hence of another judgment, and I am afraid your change hath sprung "from *New-Plymouth* men, whom though I much esteem as godlie, loving "Christians, yet their grounds which for this Tenet they received from Mr. *Robinson*, doe not satisfie me. M. *Cotton* Letter from out of *England* to M *Skelton* in *New England.*

Thirdlie, There is great commendations given to the Church of *Plymouth* by M. *Cotton* after comming to *New-England*, in his Letter to M. *Williams*, *page* 13.

Fourthlie, All the Ministers and Elders of *New-England* doe affirme, that all the Churches in *New-England*, viz. in the Bay, in the jurisdiction of *Plymouth* and at *Connettacute*, are one and the same way in Church constitution, government and Discipline without anie materiall difference. Now what can be said more plain? Adde to all these, that I had it from the mouth of a godlie Minister of the Citie, conferring with one of your *precious* Ministers about these points, before he went into *Holland*, and telling him, *This is Brownisme* and *Brown* held thus; what are you a *Brownist?* Your companion and fellow-labourer answered him thus: *The way was of God, but the man was nought*, namelie *Browne*. As for those words whereby you would evade the name of *Brownisme*, That *upon the very first declaring your judgments in the chiefe and fundamentall point of all Church Discipline, and likewise since, it hath been acknowledged, you differ much from them*: Tis not your saying so will cleare you, unlesse you had named what that chief and fundamentall point of all Church discipline is, and how, and in what words you declared your judgements; and to whom: for you might so expresse your selves (as you do in this Apologie too often) whereby you might deceive the most of them to whom you declared your judgments: yea manie able Ministers and Schollers (who are not versed in your distinctions and reservations) and yet for all the declaring of your judgements, differ verie little from the *Brownists*, except in different phrases, and and in not deducing such consequences. Let me intreate you therefore to lie no longer hid under such generals, but in your Replie, declare particularlie what you hold the chiefe point of all Church-discipline, Answ. to 32. quest. p. 82.

and wherein in that you differ from them: But may I guesse at the chiefe and fundamentall point of all Church-government and discipline, wherein you declared your judgements, by which you would distinguish your selves from the Brownists: Is it not, that you give the power and authoritie to the officers, and not to the people onlie? I have heard that of late you have declared your selves thus, and the late Epistle before M. *Cottons* booke written by two of you implies so much? But be it so (though I can out of a letter of M. *Bridges*, and from notes and manuscripts show, that seven yeares agoe the expressions of some of yon were otherwise) yet this will not free you, for M. *Johnson* fell to this, and yet was guiltie of Brownisme for all that. But in this also your principles and your practises are incoherent, and however in fine words, and flattering similitudes, you dilate upon it in your Epistle to Mr. *Cottons* late booke, yet it comes much to one, the substance of which Epistle I will answer in my Rejoynder to your Replie, or in some thing by it selfe, and will wipe off the paint and guilt, and then the naked counter and rotten post will appeare. As for your *publike profession, that you believe the truth to lye and consist in a middle way betwixt Brownisme, and that which is the contention of these times, the Authoritative Presbyteriall Government in all the subordinations and proceedings of it.* I answer, then *Actum est de Presbyterio, & de Synodo:* You have determined the cause alreadie, the Assemblie may rise when they please, and need sit no longer, for the truth lies and consists in Independencie, but I suppose, though heretofore, and when you wrote this Apologie, you did so *publikely professe, and believe the truth to lye in your way* (the middle way as you terme it) yet by what hath past since, your height and courage is somewhat abated, and you are not now so peremptorie, and I find now. you write in another stile (which becomes you much better) *We humbly suppose, we humbly conceive, againe in all humilitie:* But if you be high still, I must tell you your confidence hath deceived you, and your *middle way* (as you fancie it) (though I must still charge upon you refined Brownisme) will prove like other pretended truths lying in middle wayes, just as the Catholicke and Arminian moderators, *Cassender*, the booke called * *Interim*, and that booke of late times called *media via*, betweene the Papists and Protestants, and between the *Calvinists* and *Arminians*: And as for the way of your expression of *Presbyteriall government*, I cannot but except at it, observing that all along obliquelie, and as farre as you may, you still asperse that. You can here expresse *Brownisme* simplie, without anie additions to it, but you cannot passe by Presbyteriall government without a lash at it, *which*

Keyes of the kingdome of Heaven, Epist. to the Reade.

* *Schlusselb. de Adiapho. lib. 13.*

is the contention of these times, as if you would insinuate the blame of all the contentions and stirre of these times to be *Presbyteriall Government*, whereas the truth is, the contention of these times is *Episcopall*, and your Independent Government, which have caused, and doe continue all the contentions and stirres in Church and Common-wealth, they mutuallie strengthning each other against Presbyteriall government; and so 'tis still to be observed, that all along in this Apologie, where you speake of *Presbyteriall Government*; you state the questions about that, in the highest and utmost latitude, but of your own Church and way in the lowest, yea lower then you hold (as for instance in 11, 12. *pag.* about the qualification of Church-members) to deceive the Reader with your pretended moderation, and the more to possesse the Reader against the *jus divinum* of the Presbyteriall way, as for example in this place, *Authoritative Presbyteriall Government in all the subordinations and proceedings of it*: Now the substance and summe of *Presbyteriall Government* may be according to Apostolicall Primitive patternes, and yet *all the subordinations and proceedings of it*, as it is practised in the Church of *Scotland*, fitted to that Nation and Kingdome, may have no Scripture examples: Presbyteriall government in some Reformed Churches, as at *Geneva*, hath not *all the subordinations and proceedings* as *Scotland*, being no Kingdome nor Nation; and Presbyteriall government in *England*, might have one subordination more then *Scotland*, and some different proceedings in the manner and forme of carrying matters according to particular circumstances and occasions of time and place. The Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, who hold their Church Government to be laid downe in the word of God for the substance and essentials of it, doe not (as I suppose) hold that *all the subordinations and proceedings*, as practised in their Kingdome, have a particular rule, either of precept or example: I doubt not but they well understand, no whole Nation was converted to the faith in the time that the *Acts of the Apostles and Epistles* were written; nor the supreame Magistrate in anie Kingdome or Nation; and therefore in no one Church or Nation where Christians were converted, and Churches planted, there could not be that formall combination into *Classes*, setled *Synods or generall Assemblies*; neither could the supreame Magistrate, or a Commissioner for him be a prime member in their chiefe Assemblies; and so I might instance in other particulars; but the Church of *Scotland* find Presbyteriall Government in subordinations and appeales; that is Government exercised in Churches and Assemblies which consisted of more members then could meet in one place, and they find Assemblies, where upon cases of difference there were more members and officers then of one Church (as the *Acts of the*

Apostles

Apollos showes fully) and this serves for Scripture grounds to them. Now then for the manner of ordering of this, according to different Kingdomes, Nations or Cities, in fewer or more subordinations; and in the way and manner of proceedings by severall Churches, according to *locall, temporall* and *personall* circumstances, they know well they must goe according to generall rules of the word, to the common lawes of nature and prudence, and so they leave other Churches to doe the like.

Apolog. *And had we been led in our former wayes, and our removall out of this Kingdome by any such spirit of faction and division, or of pride and singularity (which are the usuall grounds of all schismes) we had since our returnes again, during this intermissicall seasons, tentations enough to have drawn forth such a spirit; having manifold advantages to make and increase a partie, which we have not in the least attempted. We found the spirits of the people of this Kingdome that professe or pretend to the power of godlinesse (they finding themselves to be so much at liberty, and now come out of bondage) ready to take any impressions, and to be cast into any mould that hath but the appearance of a stricter way. And we found that many of those saints that had gathered about us; or were rather cast upon our persons in our absence, began by our presence againe, and the blessing of God upon us in a great measure to scatter and vanish without speaking a word for our selves at all.*

Whether all of you, or onlie some of you, *were led in your former wayes, and in your removall out of this Kingdome by any such spirit of faction*, &c. I will not enter into your bosomes, nor judge of secret things, I leave you to search your selves, and to give account of your spirits to the Father of spirits; and whether you were led in your former waies, and in your removall out of the Kingdome by anie such spirit, or no, 'tis too evident by what I have fore-mentioned, that a *spirit of faction and division, or of pride and singularity*, wrought too much amongst some of you abroad: But though no such spirit led you, there are to me and manie others, sufficient visible grounds of your *removall out of this Kingdome* after you once were off your setled places, as your feare of personall violence, your selfe-love and worldlie wisdome to provide for your selves and yours (what ever became of the publike) your horrible dispaire of comming in again here, or things ever turning in this Land (as you twice expresse it) your great and excessive admiration of the persons of some who were in the Church-way (accounting there were no such men in the world as they) your discontent and anger at the course and harsh usage in casting some of you out of your places (which often times are grounds of heresies and schismes) as I could shew out of Ecclesiasticall histories in *Tertullian*, &c. And besides these grounds, if I may

judge

judge of your being led in your *former waies* and of your *removall out of this Kingdome* (as your selves make the argument) by your *spirit* being *drawne forth since your return in making and increasing a party*, if that will evince your being led formerly *by a spirit of faction and division or of pride and singularity*, I know not how you will free your selves; for *since your returne again during this intermysticall season*, you have not been idle, nor soft a time, but laid hold on the *temptations, provocations* and *the manifold advantages to make and increase a party*, nay you have not only laid hold on what you found readie to your hands, namely, the *intermysticall season* (through so many great businesses comming in upon the Parliament one upon another) *and the spirits of the people of the Kingdom that profesſe or pretend to the power of godlinesſe, finding themselves to be so much at liberty and new come out of bondage, ready to take any impreſſions*, &c. but you have made and increased new for the *making of a party*. And I much wonder how you dare speake thus, much lesse publiquely in print to publish, that *you have not in the leaſt attempted to make and increaſe a party*; and I shall presently make evident in answering this passage, with others of the like nature, in the 25, and 26. pages. *For the spirits of the people of this Kingdom, that profeſſe or pretend to the power of godlineſſe*, and especially of the Citie and the adjacent parts, you give a true character, together with the ground of it, *finding themselves to be ſo much at liberty, and new come out of bondage*; and it is amongst all the passages in your book one of the best; and if the people would well mind, and consider of it, that they are *ready to take any impreſſions, and to be cast into any mould that hath but the appearance of a ſtricter way*; This might do them much good, as all the Sermons you have preacht among them since your returne, and might prove an antidote both against the golden sweet poyson in this booke, and the principles of your Church-way: But thus we see (by your owne confession) how easily and readilie errors are entertained by the good people of this Kingdome, when as truth may stand without doores and knocke long before opened unto, even as good Physitians and good right physicke hath a great deal adoe to finde acceptance and admittance among the common-people, when Mountabanckes and Emprickes are sought unto. As to those words the *finding that many of those miſts, that had gathered about you, or were rather caſt upon your persons in your absence, began by your preſence againe in a great measure to ſcatter and vaniſh, without ſpeaking a word for your ſelves and cauſe*. I answer, O happie were men, powerfull and gracious with the people, whose very *preſence without ſpeaking a word for themselves or cauſe*, could not

thus much after a long absence, what will not your speaking and writing for your selves then doe? Tis well for you, the most eminent servants of God in all ages have not found *mists that had gathered about them, or cast upon their persons to scatter and vanish away so easily*, but after all Apologies and Defence for themselves and cause, have found them to stick close; and we find it harder to wipe off the aspersions and mistakes cast on us from your side (though for nothing else but for discharging our consciences, and labouring to keepe good people from errours:) But Brethren if it were so with you (as here you write) what need had you then to write this Apologie to cleare your selves from mistakes (especially having been now so long present in the Kingdome, and resident in the chiefe Citie, having the liberty of the Pulpits, and being members of the Assemblie) would not the sudden *confused noise of exclamations reflecting upon you interpretatively*, without the writing of this Apologie have been suddenlie blown over and presentlie have dyed by the continued presence of your persons, and by your preaching, *&c.* as the *many mists that had gathered about you in your absence, by your* bare presence, *without speaking a word* were scattered? It is much, your former experience did not teach you to expect the latter, and to have reasoned from that to this, so as to have caused you to have forborne making such an Apologie at such a time (as this) upon such an occasion, *as a sudden unexpected noise of confused exclamations.* But however you hold out this in the beginning of your Apologie, as the ground of it, yet something else moved you to that worke, and you have learned like the lap-wing to cry furthest off the nest.

Apolog. *But through the grace of Christ, our spirits are and have been so remote from such dispositions and aimes, that on the contrary we call God and men to witnesse our constant forbearance either to publish our opinions by preaching (although we had the Pulpits free) or to print any thing of our owne or others for the vindication of our selves (although the Presses were more free then the Pulpits) or to act for our selves or way; although we have beene from the first provoked unto all these all sorts of wayes, both by the common misunderstandings and misrepresentations of our opinions and practises, together with incitements to this state not to allow us the peaceable practises of our consciences, which the Reformed Churches abroad allowed us, and those edged with calumnies and reproaches cast upon our persons in print; and all these heightened with this further prejudice and provocation, that this our silence was interpreted, that we were either ashamed of our opinions, or able to say little for them; when as on the other side (besides all other advantages) Bookes have been written by men of much worth, learning and authority, with moderation*

and

and strength, to pre-possesse the people's minds against what was supposed our Tenets. But we knew and considered that it was the second blow that makes the quarrell, and that the beginning of strife would have been as the breaking in of waters, and the sad and conscientious apprehension of the danger of rending and dividing the godly protestant party in this Kingdome that were desirous of Reformation; and of making severall interests among them in a time when there was an absolute necessitie of their nearest union and conjunction, and all little enough to effect that Reformation intended, and so long contended for; against a common adversarie that had both present possession to pleade for it self, power to support it, and had enjoyed a long continued settlement which had rooted it in the hearts of men; And this seconded by the instant and continuall advices and conjurements of many honourable, wise and godly personages of both Houses of Parliament, to forbeare what might any way be like to occasion or augment this unhappy difference; They having also by their Declarations to his Majesty professed their endeavour and desire to unite the Protestant party in this Kingdom, that agree in fundamentall truths against Popery and other heresies, and to have that respect to tender consciences as might prevent oppressions and inconveniences which had formerly been; Together with that strict engagement willingly entred into by us for these common ends, with the rest of our brethren of the Ministery, (which though made to continue but ad placitum, yet hath binded to us.) And above all, the due respect we have had to the peaceable and orderly Reformation of this Church and State; the hopefull expectation we have been entertained with of an happy latitude and agreement by meanes of this Assembly, and the wisedome of the Parliament: The conscience and consideration of all these, and the weight of each, have hitherto had more power with us to this deepe silence and forbearance, then all our owne interests have any way prevailed with us to occasion the least disturbance amongst the people. We have and are yet resolved to beare all this with a quiet and strong patience; (in the strength of which we now speake, or rather sigh forth this little) referring the vindication of our persons to God, and a further experience of us by men; and the declaration of our judgements, and what we conceive to be his truth therein, to the due and orderly agitation of this Assembly, whereof both Houses were pleased to make us members.

In this Section are three main things: 1. Your way and carriage of your selves since your returne into *England*, as not in the least attempting to make and encrease a partie, but on the contrarie constantly forbearing further by preaching, *&c.* to do anie thing for your selves and way. 2. The provocations you have had from the first, all sorts of waies to have done otherwise, whereby you the more set out and commend you patience and forbearance.

bearance. 3. The grounds and reasons laid down of your deep silence and forbearance: now all, and everie one of these I will examine, and give the Reader and your selves this account following:

For the first of these three, and your expressions in it, above all other passages in your Narration, I cannot but admire and wonder what you meant by them, and where your consciences, memories and wisdomes were when you writ them? manie passages in other Sections of this Apologie are strange for their doubtfull double meaning, and for their untruth, but some passages in this Section were beyond my imagination of you, not onlie thus publikelie to write manifest untruths, and to subscribe to them with your own hands, but to father them on *the grace of Christ*, and to invocate the Name of God to make him owne them, calling *God to witnesse*, yea, and *men* too, to witnesse such untruths, (when as God and men know the contrarie to what you here assert,) I marvaile, none of you, (one at least) had not relented, and startled at these passages in the first part of this Section, *But through the grace of Christ, our spirits are, and have been so remote from such dispositions and aymes, that on the contrary we call God and men to witnesse our constant forbearance either to publish our opinions by preaching, &c.* Now the first part of this Section, instead of what you write here, may be thus trulie written (and I shall presently make it good:) *We since our returnes into the Kingdome, having had manifold advantages to make and increase a party, have made use of them, and in a great measure attempted it, for through the want of the grace of Christ, our spirits have had such dispositions and aymes, & that God and men can witnesse, our dealing and trading for our opinions and way, both by preaching, & some of us by printing; and many other wayes acting for our selves & way, so that the conscience and consideration of all the reasons, as the sad apprehension of the danger of rending and dividing the godly Protestant party in this Kingdome, &c. nor the weight of each, have not had power with us to a deep silence and forbearance, but our own interests have much prevailed with us to occasion much disturbance among the people.* Brethren what is this you write in this Section? how can you write it? Have not some of you, nor any of you, no *not in the least attempted to make a party?* What have your *spirits been so remote from such dispositions and aimes, that on the contrary you call God and men to witnesse your constant forbearance either to publish you opinions by preaching, or to print any thing of your owne or others; for the vindication of your selves, or to act for your selves or way?* What have you kept a deep silence and forbearance? What have not all your own interests prevailed with you, to occasion the least disturbance amongst the people. As for God, who is called to witnesse by you, without great repentance for these words, he will be *a swift witnesse*

against

*against you, Mal.*3.5. And as for *men*, whom you call also to *witnesse*, I being one, and therefore being cal'd out by your selves to *witnesse*, I must speak being called unto it; and I intreat you blame not me for witnessing and speaking the truth, declaring what I know, of your preaching, *&c.* but thank your selves who have called me to it. And being thus called, I should sin against God, and the truth, if I should not speake the truth, and the whole truth, (so far as I know and have from good hands informed;) and yet I will speak nothing but what I believe to be truth: I doe therefore contrarie (to what you call God and men to witnesse unto) charge you with these following particulars.

First, All of you have not constantly forborne to *publish your opinions by preaching*, but you have vented your principles and opinions, by preaching, sometimes more generally and covertly, (yet so as our followers understand you,) and sometimes particularlie and plainelie: In a more generall and covert way, you have done it often, under preaching for puritie of Ordinances, the standing for the Kinglie office of Christ, the being in a Church way, the performing of all Ordinances in the due and right order, *&c.* wherein you do for your way just as the Malignant Ministers preach against the Parliament and for the Cavaliers, under generalities, by preaching against Rebellion, and fighting against the King, and rising up against him, and for peace, *&c.* (which the Malignants understand well enough, and flock to them upon it;) And so more particularlie, fullie, and plainlie, you have preached for your way, for instance, Mr. *Simpson*, (one of the Apologists,) hath frequentlie, and constantlie (for one space) in manie Lectures at *Black-friers*, (more especially on that Text, *Psal.* 119.6. *Then shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect unto all thy Commandements:*) preach for his opinions and way, and did answer manie objections against their Church-way, pleading stronglie for it; and for pretended liberty of conscience and toleration: So on *Fishstreet-hill*, on that Text of *Rom.* 12.2. *That ye may prove what is that good, that acceptable and perfect will of God*: he preached largelie for his Church-way, and propounded and resolved nine Questions, about it: And at *Westminster* also, in Sermons preached there, he had manie passages for the Church-way, as for Toleration, as for the matter of their Church, visible Saints, *&c.* Mr. *Burroughs* another of the Apologists, hath published his opinions by preaching, and hath preached for his way at *Mildreds-Breadstreet*, on that Text, *Gal.* 5.1. preaching against Nationall Churches under the New Testament and for the way of

* Mr. *Simpsons* Sermon on Prov. 8.15, 16. pag. 16, 17, 28, 29, 32, 33. Sermon called *Reformations Preservation*, pag. 25, 16, 17.

of their particular Churches. Mr. *Burroughs*, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in his publike Sermon at *Easter*, preached for toleration of all Sects and opinions (so they were not against fundamentals in doctrine, and the fundamentals of civill government:) and he hath frequentlie in his Lectures at *Michael Cornhill*, (some of which are since printed) preached for their way; besides what he may have preached at *Stepny* and elsewhere, (of which I have not yet sufficiently informed my selfe as to be able to prove it.) Mr. *Bridge*, another of these Apologists, in a Sermon at *Westminster*, in the first yeare of the Parliaments sitting, before manie Parliament men, had up that, *Mat*, 18. *Go tell the Church*; but Christ does not send them from that Church to another Church *&c.* So in his Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, (preached about a moneth before this Apologie came forth) there are severall passages for the Church-way. And in in his Sermon called *Babylons downfall*, preached before sundry of the House of Commons, there are passages for the Church-way, page 13, 15. In *London* also at the Bridge-foot, he hath preached severall things tending that way; particularly, about the people, beings Gods porters to let the Ministers into the Church, and how no men come in truly called but they. In the Countrey too, he hath preached for his way (as I have been informed by a good hand,) both at *Norwich* and at *Ipswich*: But if it be asked what he hath done at *Yarmouth*, I shall in my Rejoynder give you a full account of him there, (being not yet so well prepared for that.) Mr. *Goodwin*, another of the Apologists, hath preached and published his opinions (on that Text, *Ephes.* 1. 22, 23.) at large, for no other visible Ministeriall Church, but a particular Congregation, with his reasons for it; (though that Text speaks of the Church; *in statu mistico*, and not of an instituted particular Church:) and so at *Westminster*, in his first Sermon, preached before manie of the House of Commons, he had passages of Christs Kinglie office, and the government of the Church, clearelie for this way, and against the Presbyterians. So in his Sermon preached before the House of Commons, called *Zerubbabels Encouragement*, there are manie things for the Church-way, pag. 18. and from page 29. to page 44. (which though they be but generals) yet in the Epistle before the Sermon it is confessed they be for that way. As for Mr. *Nye*, he having lived a greater part of his time since his returne into *England* in Noblemens families, and in *Yorkeshire*, and having preached little in the Parishes here in *London*, I cannot prove that he hath published his opinions by preaching particuaarly for them: But whether Mr. *Nye* hath not acted the State part, and played the politician the more by

Fast Sermon, pag. 20. 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31.

by dealing in private, under hand, and hand to hand with ſome men of note for the Church-way, and againſt the government of the Church of *Scotland*, and particularlie at *Hull*, (as I have ſome ground for what I write,) ſo I appeale to his conſcience, and intreate him to rub up his memory whom he hath conferred with about theſe points: but though I cannot prove Mr. *Nye* hath publiſhed his opinions by preaching, yet Mr. *Nye* affirming this not onlie for himſelfe, but for all the reſt, ſpeaking not onlie in his own name, but in the name of the other Apologiſts too, *we call God and men to witneſſe our conſtant forbearance either to publiſh our opinions by preaching, &c.* whether according to that ſecond queſtion in page 14. of this *Antapologie*, is not he guilty alſo, and may here be juſtly charged with writing of an untruth. But let me aske you, though you ſay you have not publiſhed your *opinions by preaching*, doe you not underſtand it by preaching in *Pulpits*? (for I find it in the parentheſis referred to *pulpits*) but whether all of you, or ſome of you have not publiſhed your *opinions by preaching* out of pulpits, at Tables, and in Chambers in your Church-meetings, and in houſes where ſome of you have exerciſed before ſupper, when friends and company have been invited, (which is an acting for your ſelves and way,) I referre to your conſciences to conſider of: onely I muſt tell you, that I have it from a ſure hand, of no worſe ranke of men, then of the Miniſtery, and of no ſleighter ſort of witneſſe then an eare witneſſe, that things about the Church-way, have been often ſo preached in houſes; and in particular, I aske Mr. *Bridge*, whether it be not ſo? but if it be anſwer'd by you, (for the avoiding this imputation faſtned on you) *of calling God and men to witneſſe* an untruth, that your words doe not import a totall forbearance of preaching your *opinions*, neither do you mean, that you never preached them: but *a conſtant forbearance*, that is, you did for the greater part forbeare in the conſtant courſe of your Miniſterie to preach of theſe points: I reply, your words cannot beare that ſenſe, neither doth, nor can ſuch a meaning agree with your words going before and following after, nor with the ſcope and intent of this Section: For the words which go before, *of our ſpirits meete from ſuch diſpoſitions and aimes*, are in reference to theſe words in the former Section, *not in the leaſt attempting to make and procure of a party*: and for the words following (towards the end of this preſent Section) namely, *this deepe ſilence and forbearance, ſo as not to occaſion the leaſt diſturbance amongſt the people, and bearing all with a quiet and ſtrong patience*, they referre to this paſſage of *calling God and men to witneſſe our conſtant forbearance, either to publiſh our opinions by preaching, &c.* Now how can it be *a deep ſilence and forbearance not to occaſion the leaſt diſ-*

amongst the people, and a quiet and strong patience to bear all, when as you did preach often of those points, though you might oftner forbeare? and I ask you, whether Sermons now and then preached of the opinions, was not an attempting *to make an increase a party*, and that more then in the least? as also, whether some Sermons (though but now and then) would not *occasion the least disturbance among the people*? But besides the scope and intent of his whole Section, being to shew that you did not take advantage to make and increase a partie, with the laying down the Reasons and grounds of your forbearance, which are all against such a glosse and sense, your words of a *constant forbearance to publish your opinions by preaching*, cannot be understood of publishing your opinions now and then by preaching, though you did oftner preach upon other subjects, for preaching now and then would be *in the least an attempting to make and increase a party*, and preaching now and then could not be *a deep silence and forbearance*, and some Sermons *would be the beginning of strife*, and would be a means *of rending and dividing the godly Protestant party in this Kingdome*; Besides, *the instant and continuall advises of Parliament men to you*, were not that you would not for the most part preach of your opinions, but not at all, namelie, to *forbear what might any way be like to occasion or augment this unhappy difference*: and your ingagement to the Ministers of silence, was not partiall or for the most part not to preach of those points, but it was totall, not to preach of them at all: And further, *Constant forbearance to publish your opinions by preaching*, must have the same construction as it hath in those words *printing any thing of your own or others, for the vindication of your selves, or acting for your selves and way*: both which (especially that of printing) must necessarily be understood of *a totall forbearance*; for I suppose you do not understand by those words, *printing any thing*, that you did not print so many bookes of your own, or others, as you could, and might have done, onely a few books were now and then printed by them for your way, you would not have us put such an interpretation upon that part which concerns printing; so neither can it be upon that of preaching; and in a word, *Constant*, is not a Diminutive, (as such a glosse would make it,) but an Augmentative, (as we use to say,) a *constant* friend, and a *constant* preacher; and yet according to this sense, (which yet is against all Grammer, and against the Analysis and scope of this Section) some of you cannot evade, as Mr. *Simpson*, Mr. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Bridge*, who in severall Churches, and upon severall texts, have frequently, sometimes in generall and more darkely, and sometimes more plainlie and particularlie, published their opinions by preaching: And if anie of these Apologists shall in their Reply either denie or

put

put off ahie of the particulars I have charged them with in point of preaching, (as being not a publishing their opinions, nor points of the Church-way,) I will in my Rejoynder (God sparing me life and health) print at large the particulars preached by them, and then the Reader shall judge. (which now I omit least my Booke should be too great.)

2. All of you have not forborne *to print any thing of your owne*, for your opinions and wayes: For M. *Bridge*, M. *Simpson* and M. *Burroughs*, have printed Sermons and Expositions of their own, wherein are severall things about the Church-way: as is to be seen in M. *Burroughs* Exposition on the three first Chapters of *Hosea*, 1. Lecture on *Hos.* 2, 1. pag. 224, 225. 7. Lect. on *Hos.* 2. 11. pag. 173. 5. Lect. on *Hos.* 1. 10. pag. 134, 141. 3. Lect. on *Hos.* 2. pag. 288. 13. Lect. on *Hos.* 2. 15. and in manie other places of those Expositions, passages are sprinckled for the Church-way. And in M. *Simpsons* Sermons, called *Reformations Preservation*, on *Isa.* 4. the latter part of the fifth verse, and on *Prov.* 8. 15, 16. and in M. *Bridges* Sermons, called *Babylons Downfall*, and that on *Zech.* chap. 1. ver. 18, 19, 20, 21. But supposing you had wholly forborne printing *any thing of your owne*, you might well have done it out of policy, and yet your way not have suffered by it; so manie books, and little Pamphlets having been printed, and reprinted since this Parliament for the Church-way, as amounts to the number (I think) of almost one hundred: And I aske of you, whether one or more of you, have not had a hand in perusing and examining some bookes of others or in counselling and consenting to the printing of them, (especiallie some bookes from out of *New-England*, and particularlie of Mr. *Cottons*.)

3. Neither I, nor manie other Ministers, are not satisfied of the truth of those words, *That you have not acted for your selves and way*: which words, as here brought in by you, must be understood, of acting, as distinct from preaching and printing, that is, as you have not published your opinions by preaching, so you have not by other wayes and meanes acted for your selves or way: as in making friends, or in moving anie Parliament men, or in consulting together what to doe about your way; no, else good men, you have kept your houses close, and followed your studies hard, and seldome gone to *Westminster*, but have left the businesse of Independencie and the Church-way to God wholly, leaving him to take care of his own way and cause. Brethren, how dare you write thus? if you have not acted for your selves and way since your returnes into *England*, and improved your time well too, most who know you, are much deceived in you, and strangelie mistaken. And suffer me to deale plainlie with you, I am perswaded, that

(that setting aside the Jesuites acting for themselves and way) you five have acted for your selves and way, both by your selves, and by your instruments, both upon the stage, and behind the curtain, (considering circumstances, and laying all things together) more then any five men have done in so short a time this 60 yeares: and if it be not so, whence have come all these swarmes and troopes of Independents in Ministerie, Armies, Citie, Countrie, Gentrie, and amongst the common people of all sorts, men, women, servants, children: have not you five had the greatest influence to cause them who have wrought so many Ministers, Gentlemen and people to your way? can it be in Reason thought all this is come about without your acting for your selves and way? is the peoples golden Calfe of Independencie and Democracie come out of it selfe, without Aaron making it? Exod. 32. 4.

And whether you five have not acted for your selves and way since this Parliament? I desire you to answer these questions, and then according to the truth of those questions, let your consciences judge of the truth of these words.

1. Whether came not you over into *England*, and left your Churches in *Holland* with their leave, or rather being sent as *Messengers* to negotiate for your way, and for a Toleration of some Churches to enjoy Independent government, that is, *a full, entire, complete power in the hands of your selves*.

2. When you were come over, did you not in the first yeare of the Parliaments sitting, consult together, and debate about a Petition, and was there not one drawne to be presented to the House of Commons for a Toleration of some Congregations, to enjoy a Congregationall government.

3. Have you not been all along from your first comming over into *England*, to the writing of this present Apologie, intent and watchfull upon every thing in agitation, or about to passe in matter of Religion, that might make (though but remotely for Presbyteriall government and might (though but by a remote consequence and or a distance) touch upon or preiudice your Churches way: As for instance, about the time of passing a Bill in the House of Commons against Episcopacie, and of consultation and debate what should be in the interim, till another Government could be setled, were not your selves and active against that advice and counsell of a certain number of grave Ministers in each County to be substituted for the time, (out of your feare of having but a shadow of Presbyterian government, though but provisionall) and how much you wrought in that, with some of your, and what the effect of that was, you may remember. So upon thoughts

and

and consultations (since this warre, of entring into a Covenant) and some Ministers being advised with, whether did not some of you stand for a clause to be inserted in the Covenant for libertie to tender consciences, and for want of such a clause, (that being opposed by some,) how long it was laid aside, &c. I desire you to remember. Again, about the beginning of the Assemblie, in the review and examination of some of the Articles of Religion, and in the propounding but some orders to have been agreed on about the way of managing the Disputes and Debates in the Assembly, how tender have you been of anie thing tending but to Presbyterie, and that might (though but indirectly) reflect upon anie of your Principles.

4. Have not some of you, (though may be not all) acted for your selves and way by constant Church meetings on the Lords day, in private houses preaching the word & administring the Sacraments even in the times of the publike Assemblies, where besides your own Church members, have resorted to your meetings manie other persons, some members of Churches in *New-England*, and others belonging to the Church of *England*, and whereas M. *Simpson* was a Minister of a Church at *Roterdam* (which Church is still there) hath not Mr. *Simpson* since his returne well acted for himselfe and his way in getting such a rich and numerous Church, consisting of so manie Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, rich Citizens, rich Virgins, *&c.* and hath not M. *Goodwin* acted for himselfe and way, *and at least in the least attempted to encrease a party*, when besides those of his Church at *Arnheim*, that came over from thence, there are others here in *London* have gone to his Church meetings, and there are some, if not actually members (the ceremony may be being forborne, that it may be said he hath added none to his Church) yet are *Competentes Candidati* Probationers, members in *fieri*, with their faces to Zion, and reputed members actuallie by them of nearest Relations and Co-habitations, (as I am credibly informed,) but must name none to prevent differences in neere Relations.

5. Have not some of you, if not all of you acted for your selves and way, in actuallie speaking and moving some Parliament men to stand for you and for a Toleration of your Church-way, and have you not been answered, shew us your grounds, let us know what you hold, and what you would have, and then you shall see that shall be done which is fitting; and out of zeale of acting for your selves and way, have not some of you suggested in private to Parliament men, the prejudice of their Parliamentory power, if they should admit of the Government of the Church of *Scotland*, pleading also for a necessity of a Toleration, and in particular I aske Mr. *Nye* if he remember no such discourses, and that at *Hull* too.

6. Whether have not some of you, if not all, out of acting for your selves and way, hindred all that lay in you, the sending for our brethren of *Scotland* to come to our helpe? and whether have not some of you much pleaded against sending for them in? and objected (as the Malignants doe) of the danger of their comming in, &c? and whether in as much as lay in you, did not you so act for your owne opinions and Church-way, that you would have hazarded the Kingdome, Religion, and all, rather then the losse of your Independencie, which you knew the *Scots* were so averse unto?

7. Whether have not some of you in Conferencies with manie good people, and by discourses in private, acted for your selves and way, by stumbling them in the point of a particular Church, and in the point of comming to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and by pleading for a Toleration of all opinions (that may stand with saving Grace) and doth none of you remember what was answered you? that Poligamie might stand with saving Grace, and must that be tolerated?

8. Whether have not some of you tampered with some Parliament men about delaying the meeting of the Assemblie, and suggesting to them doubts and feares about it? and whether in the Assemblie have you not by all possible waies both in opposing some orders of speaking but so manie times to one poinct (the sooner to bring things to an end) and by other waies all that you could, delayed the proceedings of the Assemblie, and all this out of acting for your selves and way, that so your partie might increase, and your opinions spread before the Government might be setled.

9. Have not some of you out of acting for your selves and way endeavoured the bringing into the Assemblie (since the sitting of it) some Independents to be members of it, and upon their being stopped, have not some of you cancelled deale with some members of the House of Commons that they might passe their House? and what could this be but out of acting for your selves and way?

10. Whether have not you out of acting for your selves and way, had manie meetings and consultations both of writing letters into *New-England* for their helpe and furtherance, and about what you should doe, and how to order matters since the *Scots* must be sent for, and since the Assembly could not be hindred, how things might be managed and carried for the best advantage of your cause and way? and whether was not this *Apologeticall Narration* one of the Products of your consultations? Now unto these ten I might adde other *Quæres*, but shall reserve them to my Rejoynder, these being sufficient to satisfie you and the Reader: So that laying all these things together,

together, what did you mean or think with your selves when you writ these passages? could you imagine you danced in a net all this time, and that men tooke no notice of you, or that all had been forgotten that you had done and preacht? or did you imagine your power was so great with the people (having such a name) that all would be taken for truth you writ, or that your greatnesse was such that no man durst question what you had done, or appeare against your *Apologie*, (or if they did, they should but blast themselves among the people, and the people would believe nothing against you) what strange spirit possessed you to write thus? For my part (fear not my name (I have learned to trust God with it,) and I dare (by the the Grace and help of Gods Spirit) deale with you, and all of you in these Controversies: But supposing all you affirme of your selves had beene true, *cujus contrarium, verum est* (as is too evident by what I have proved) that you had neither preached, printed, nor acted perlonallie for your selves, and way, yet all this forbearance might have been not from the grounds and reasons brought by you in this Section, but from other principles of wisdome and policie, as the more to ingratiate your selves with the Houses of Parliament, and to insinuate into their favour, and that you might the better make such an *Apologie* as this, and make use of it to your advantage, at such a time as this, and I judge such considerations have restrained some of you, and prevailed with you, not to act so much as your fellowes, and not so openly (as otherwise you would) especiallie knowing whilst you were in the Tyring-house unseen, the Scene was full, and the Tragedie went on, there being no want of Actors on the open Stage to carrie on your Church-way: As for instance, *M.W.M.P.M.K.M.B.D.H.M.L.M.G.M.C.M.B.M.P.M.Q. M.W.M.W.S.M.C.M.E.M.C.M.A.M.L. cum multis aliis*, of whose preachings and acting for themselves and way in gathering of Churches, &c. and of books made by some of them, and printed by others of them, it would fill a book to enumerate particulars, and to declare what hath beene done in Citie, Countrie, Armies, and in all places to make and increase parties, and to occasion so great disturbance amongst all sorts, as that it will be found a hard work to settle the Government of the Church, and to reduce the people. And I confesse, you having such choice of Instruments and under-workmen to work by, and to build your Babell, I may all you contented not your selves, with onelie calling the Modell, and giving the pattern and aime to others, but that you should appear upon the works your selves (as often-times you did.)

To your second main part in this Section, the *Provocations* you have had *all sorts of waies* to have preached, printed, and acted for your selves both by

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the *Common misunderstandings and misrepresentations of your opinions and practice*, &c. I must tell you, I judge, and that upon good grounds, never men laying all things together, *considerate considerandis*, had fewer provocations, for considering you were but a few in comparison, and going in a new different way from all the Reformed Churches, and the destructivenesse of your Principles to Reformation, with the danger of them in drawing away and stealing our sheep from us, and the contempt of our Ministerie (occasioned by your principles) among all the people generallie of your way, as also your leaving the Land in the greatest need: notwithstanding all this and manie more that lie on the godlie Ministers of Citie, and Countrey, should carrie themselves towards you with that love, respect, tenderneſſe, brotherlie kindneſſe, as they did, might have provoked you indeed, but in another way then you expreſſe it. And for the truth of this I appeale to your own breasts, and to the knowledge of my brethren, and to these following demonstrations. 1. There was a great deale of loving respects, and faire carriage towards you, both in admitting you into their Pulpits, and in forbearing all things offenſive to you, and your partie before the Sermons, to gratifie you. 2. There was a great deale of faire respects to you in admitting you into their Societie, and publique meetings about the matters of Reformation. 3. There was a generall silence by the Godlie Ministers, (I reate unto mirth) in forbearing preaching against your points, and that when some of you preached for your way, and manie Pamphlets were printed for it. 4. The Ministers suffered some of you, and no waies interposed to hinder you from being the universall Lecturers of the Citie, yea if they had appeared against you might have crossed it. 5. The Ministers courted you by all wayes of respect, and of high entertainment of you in loving speech, friendlie countenance, familiar conversing with you, giving you the right hand of fellowship, and in a brotherlie entreating you, not to appeare for your way, that to our differences might not hinder the worke of Reformation, with all promising you when they had obtained the Reformation desired, they would be readie to gratifie you all they could, and to consider you as godlie Brethren. 6. Upon the Proposition and motion of silence about the points in difference, the Ministers were most readie and willing to enter into a strict engagement with you, and that though some of your way had been before hand with them in venting your principles amongst the people. 7. There hath been much tenderneſſe expreſſed towards you, and readineſſe of yeelding to you all along (the more to win you, to prevent an open breach, and to stop peoples mouthes) and particularlie in the Assemblie of Divines, where that patience,

tience, long-suffering, forbearing, hath been exercised towards you, in your often and long speaking upon points in speaking the same things over and over againe, &c. as would hardlie have been towards anie others, and I may trulie speake it, manie of our Ministers have not carried themselves towards one another with that love and respect as they have done to you. 8. The Ministers have in honour preferred you before themselves, and have been contented (in a good sense) to let you increase and they to decrease, and could be so contented still for Gods glorie and the good of the Church. But I will particularlie answer to your Provocations here alledged and shew you that they were no Provocations to have caused you to make and increase a partie by preaching, &c.

For the 1. *the common misunderstandings and misrepresentations of your opinions and practises* was not a sufficient provocation to preaching, &c. 1. because *many of those mists were scattered by your presence againe without speaking a word for your selves or cause*, and therefore needed not neither preaching, printing, nor acting for your selves and way. 2. You may justlie thank your selves, for the mis-understandings of your opinions, and practises, carrying them so in the darke, and putting off from time to time a Narrative of your opinions and waies (though so earnestlie desired by the Godlie Ministers, and you sent unto so solemnlie for it, as also promised by you often,) so that it was no fault at all in the standers by to misunderstand or mistake some things in your opinions and practises (especiallie being new, strange, and hidden too.) 3. Although you speake thus, that your opinions and waies were mis-understood, and mis-represented (that being one of your usuall Artifices to delude with, and to keep off arguments brought against you) yet I do not know anie opinion or practise of yours mis-understood and mis-represented, I know none that was written against or fathered on you, but what was either to be found in some of your Manuscripts, &c. (but of this, I have spoken before.)

For the second Provocation, the *Incitements to the State not to allow you the peaceable practises of your Consciences, which the Reformed Churches abroad allowed you, and these edged with Calumnies and reproaches cast upon your persons in print*, I suppose in this, you mean that booke written by me, entituled, *Reasons against Independent Government*, and *against the Toleration* of it, presented to the House of Commons; for as for anie other booke of that nature I remember none, besides you commend the other bookes written against your way and Tenets, page 17. Now that book gives Reasons and Grounds for what it writes against, and you should have done well (either anie one of you, or all of you) to have answered it, and had

you

you shewed those Reasons to have been weake and unjust, then there had been some colour for you to have made that a Provocation, to have acted for your selves and way, but by your silence you seem to give consent to what was written against you. But however (though I writ both against your Government, and the Toleration of it in this Kingdome,) yet not against the *peaceable principles of your Consciences*, but the unpeaceable practises of them (as you would order matters in *England*.) For I spend some leaves in that booke to allow you the peaceable practise of your consciences, and chalked you out a way, even with the saving of your principles (for which you have cause to thanke me.) As for my *incitement to the State*, it was not to persecution against you, for I laid down a clear *medium* between persecution and a Toleration. As for that passage, *which the Reformed Churches abroad allowed us*, I have already answered that at large in my former booke, and I will here adde another Answer to those I gave then; the Reformed Churches abroad might safelier allow you the libertie of your consciences there, then the State can, for there being strangers, you and your Churches looked for nothing else, you looked not to enjoy the priviledges of offices, places in Church and Common-wealth, not to be in the ranke of States, Burgomasters, *&c.* but here in *England* you Independents will look for the like priviledges that others enjoy, as to be Majors of Townes, chosen Burgesses and Knights for Parliament, *&c.* whereby you will have a mightie influence and advantages to countenance and promote your way, and make parties every where (which must needs be of dangerous consequence to this State.) Now for those words, *and these edged with calumnies and reproaches cast upon our persons in print.* I answer, let the whole book be perused, and let the Reader judge if the first part of the book consisting of the Reasons against Independent government be not wholly argumentative, (containing nothing personall, but rationall,) and for the second part, the Reasons against the Toleration, let it be examined whether that be not rationall also, and in many pages as full of yealding and sweetnesse as can well be with the keeping of peace and truth, and could be expected in such a difference of judgement. And whether also I give not in severall passages of that book to Ministers of that way, due respects and fitting termes, only in one page of the book, in answering a popular Reason of yours for a Toleration (which I had from one of your own mouthes) I gave a popular answer suitable to the Argument, (but so as without

* Pag. 42.

Reasons against Toleration, pag. 13 14, 15.

Reasons against Toleration, pag. 37, 38.

Reasons against Toleration, pag. 49.

without either foule or railing language.) 2. I named you not, but ſpake as of manie of your Miniſters, why do you then appropriate it to your ſelves? and I can truly ſpeak it, that for one of you five to whom application is made more eſpeciallie of ſome thing there written, I did not ſo much as mean or intend him, but do openly acquit him, and diſclaime it. I denie that anie words or phraſes in that booke, ſpoken of thoſe perſons I intended them to, are calumnies, there is not a word but is true, and manie can and do witneſſe ſo much, (who yet wiſh the paſſage had been left out, becauſe then all pretence of exceptions and tavill againſt the booke had beene taken away,) and for the reproaches you ſpeak of, (which are a matter of truth) they are rather upon the opinions and principles, then the perſons, comming to the perſons from the opinions and principles received; And for my own part, I never wiſhed that paſſage had been left out: for I know no reaſon, but when people fall into a way, becauſe of the pretence of the great holineſſe and grace of the men of that way, when thoſe be the Arguments that take and deceive the people, but it is the duty of him who would preſerve from the errour of that way, to ſhew the contrary effects (if he can,) and what did I doe more?

For the third provocation, *all theſe heightned with this further prejudice and provocation that our ſilence was interpreted, that we were either aſhamed of our opinions or able to ſay little for them.* I conceive that in this you may aime at me (as in the former) and I ingenuouſlie confeſſe that your ſilence in not anſwering bookes, and particularlie mine, was interpreted ſo by me, and I have ſpoken to ſome, and ſpake it (even while it was given out by ſome of you it ſhould be anſwered,) that you would not anſwer it for two Reaſons. 1. Becauſe you were not yet willing to make knowne your opinions, what you held, and what not, (the anſwer to which book would neceſſarilie have drawn out what you were not then willing to ſpeake, nor yet do in this Apologie.) 2. Becauſe being accounted Schollars, if you did not anſwer it fullie, and to purpoſe, you would rather looſe then gain, in a word, I thought you could not anſwer it ſatisfyinglie, neither were you willing to impart your opinions publikelie, ſo as they might be faſtned on, that theſe are your opinions, ſo that conſidering how readie you have been in pulpits, and with the people (whom you might probablie gain) to vent your opinions, ſpeaking where you ſhould have been ſilent, and being ſilent when you have been deſired by the Miniſters (who underſtand controverſies as well as your ſelves) and never anſwering anie books written againſt your way, nor laying downe neither in writing, nor by printing what you held with your grounds in a Scholaſticall way, did give me and manie others

cause to interpret that kind of silence and reservednesse, to spring either from your being ashamed of your opinions, or from being able to say little for them: And if you answer not this *Antapologie*, I shall be like enough to interpret your silence, that either you are ashamed of some of your opinions, or able to say little for them.

For the fourth provocation, *When as on the other side (besides all other advantages) bookes have been written by men of much worth, learning and authority, with moderation and strength, to prepossesse the peoples minds against what are supposed our Tenets.* I answer, 1. You should have done well to have named what *all other advantages* our side had of you which might have provoked you to preach, print and act for your selves and way: You confesse in the last Section, page 24. *You had manifold advantages to make and increase a party*: But I know not what advantages were on our side, or if we had, that they were taken by us against you, whereby you have anie just ground to set out your patience in not being provoked. 2. You should have done well to have answered the bookes, *written by men of much worth, learning and authority, with moderation and strength*; (though you answered not mine) and no man would have blamed you for that, but all men expected it, and blame you rather, for declining all those waies of disputes, and of stating the points in difference between you and the Ministers, and dealing in popular waies, and under-board with the people, who were *ready to take any impression, and to be cast into any mould that had but the appearance of a stricter way.* 3. If the *bookes written by men of much worth, learning and authority, with moderation and strength, were but against your supposed Tenets*, (as you say) and not your *Tenets* indeed, you not being named, nor personated in them, this was no such provocation to you to publish your opinions by preaching, printing, and to *act for your selves or way*: A cleare conscience might have sleighted them, and ingenuous men might in a few leaves, have clearlie disclaimed all those points as not holding them, and there had been an end of all controversie. 4. I cannot let passe under this fourth provocation, that expression of yours, *against what are supposed our Tenets*, a usuall artifice of you and your followers, that when anie thing is written stronglie against your way, which you know not how, nor never mean to answer, you put it off with this, The question is mistaken, we hold not so, we hold otherwise: the answer you have given to all our books *written by men of much worth, &c.* the way the Arminians used to put off the learned answers made to their books, and the Tractates written by our Divines against their opinions, a verie Jesuiticall device, and most unworthy of men professing conscience and pietie, (in which expression of Jesuiticall, I intreat the Reader not

not to mistake me, as if I cal'd the Apologists so, or would ranke them in the forme of Jesuites, no I intend not that at all, but meerlie to shew this way is not faire, as being the practise of Arminians and Jesuits, and so becomes not good men, as I judge the Apologists are.) But let the Reader judge, can it be thought, that all the bookes written since this Parliament by *men of much worth, learning and authority; with moderation and strength*, should be against you, upon *supposed Tenets?* that they should all fight with their own shadowes, and set up a man of cloutes, and beat him *with strength*, to suppose you to hold such *Tenets* which you do not; what an imputation is this upon all who have written on these points? how does this implie a contradiction in the words and expressions used by your selves? that they should be *men of much worth, learning, &c.* and yet write *against what are supposed your Tenets*: this argued not *much worth, nor strength* in them; and suffer me here to vindicate those worthie men who have written of late against Independencie, and for combined Presbyterie and Synods, that they write not *against what are supposed your Tenets*, but what are your *Tenets* reallie: Can it be thought that the learned Divines of *Holland*, as Mr. *Paget*, who being exercised with Mr. *Davenport*, Mr. *Hooker* and others of your way upon the points, in manie Conferences, and afterwards writ a book on purpose upon these points, should write against *supposed Tenets*, and that the most learned *Voetius* living in *Holland*, and have spoken with manie of your way, yea with some of you (if I mistake not,) and writing so lately upon these points, upon the occasion of the newnesse of the controversie, should so mistake; or that the *two Reverend and learned Divines of Scotland*, setting forth books chiefelie upon the occasion of your dissents; (the first Divine having been in *England* so long in the first yeare of the Parliaments sitting, and having had discourse with some of you upon the points, and the later Mr. *Rutherford*, being so able a man, and so well versed in the controversie) should conspire *to prepossesse the peoples minds against what are supposed your Tenets*: But if all these should have mistaken, that yet *one of your owne Divines* who writ *more lately with much learning and ingenuity* (as your selves confesse,) and your Licenser too, should fasten upon you *supposed Tenets*, seemes strange: But the best is, we have your selves confessing in the 15. page of your Apologie, that these Divines of *Holland*, *Scotland* and *England*, have written against your Tenets and government, *directly, fully* and *with strength*: and how could Mr. *Herles* booke against Independencie be written *with much ingenuity*, if he had *prepossessed the peoples minds against what are supposed your Tenets*, but are not so indeed: And howsoever, though neither my selfe, nor my booke against Independent government are not in

the number of the men and books of *much worth and learning, written with moderation & strength*; yet it is probable those Reasons against Independent government and Toleration, troubles you as much as anie other book written, and may be more aimed at by you in this passage then other books, and therefore, to free my selfe, I have not asserted anie thing in that booke as your Tenet, but what I have good reason to believe you have held: and I can produce it, either as your known practise, or out of some Manuscripts that goe under some of your names; or from your own mouthes, or some intimate familiars of yours: so that unlesse according to your second great principle in the 10. page, you have altered and retracted within these few yeares what six or seven yeares agoe you held, the peoples minds have not been *prepossest* by me with what are *your supposed Tenets*, but with your reall Tenets: and I desire you in your Replie, to give anie instances to the contrarie: And that neither I nor others may not write against your *supposed Tenets* anie longer, I do beseech you for the glorie of God and the peace of the Church, to set down positivelie and plainlie all your Tenets, wherein you differ from the reformed Churches and the Reformation like to be setled, and that with the grounds of them, or without the grounds, (if your other occasions will not allow you time,) and I do promise you by the helpe of God, in a short convenient time (without anie thing personall or matter of fact) to give you a direct answer from Scripture and reasons grounded thereupon, whereby we may understand one another the better, and bring this sad controversie between brethren to an end the sooner. 5. We, who have written anie thing against your way, have not so much prepossessed the peoples minds against *your Tenets*, as laboured to dispossesse them: we have all played the after-game too much, you the fore-game; you and your partie have *prepossessed the peoples minds* with your principles, and have fil'd the Citie and Kingdome with your *Tenets*, and you have been on the *prepossessing hand*, filling manie Parliament mens eares, and the peoples minds against Presbyteriall government, and instilling into them, things but supposed against that government, (as not giving enough to the power of the civill Magistrate:) It would grieve an ingenious and conscientious man, to see where ever one comes, how manie good people of the Kingdome are *prepossessed* by being prejudiced against Presbyteriall government, that it will be worse then the Hierarchie, and more tyrannicall to the consciences and liberties of the people, with such like: There was therefore, and is much need to cast out these Devils, and to unpossesse the people possessed; and by preaching, conference and writing, to preserve such who are not yet possest, and to *prepossesse* them with truth, because such is the nature of your errours,

that

that hitherto few who take hold of them ever returne; like *Goodwin* ſands, that if a ſhip once ſtrike upon them, there is no fetching her off: or as poiſon, which is hardlie expelled, if once it be diffuſed through the bodie.

3. For the grounds and reaſons of your pretended *deep ſilence, and forbearance* of *venting* your opinions *to the multitude*, I grant they are well ſummed up by you, and I wiſh they had wrought as well with you to *a deepe ſilence and forbearance*; but what ever you ſay *of the conſcience and conſideration of all theſe, and the weight of each, to have had ſuch a power with you hitherto*, the contrarie hath been prooved, and I am readie yet further to make it good; and will upon your Replie to this Anſwer ſay a great deale more. But now I muſt come to examine each of your grounds apart; which you ſay wrought upon you not to attempt in the leaſt to make a partie or to act for your ſelves or way.

1. *But we knew and conſidered, that it was the ſecond blow that makes the quarrell, and that the beginning of ſtrife, would have been as the breaking in of waters, and the ſad and conſcientious apprehenſion of the danger of rending and dividing the godly Proteſtant party in this Kingdome, that were deſirous of Reformation, and of making ſeverall intereſts among them, when there was an abſolute neceſſity of their neereſt union and conjunction*, &c.

I anſwer, It is ſpoken like an Oracle, and might indeed have wrought upon you to a burying of your opinions, to a totall forbearance of them for a time, and to have ſpent your time in a conjuring all the Miniſters and people of your way, not to have ſpoken a word, nor to have appeared in the leaſt for thoſe points till the Reformation intended had been effected; but brethren, was it practiſed by you as well as it is here ſpoken? I beſeech you, let your conſciences anſwer, and in coole blood, (laying aſide all particular intereſts, paſſion, prejudice,) conſider whether it be not by your meanes, or by ſome of you more eſpeciallie who writ this, *that the godly Proteſtant party of this Kingdome deſirous of a reformation, is rent and divided, and have ſeverall intereſts among them in a time when there was an abſolute neceſſity of their neareſt union and conjunction, and all little enough to effect that Reformation intended*: Have not ſome of your Sermons? have not the practiſes of ſome of you in aſſembling in private houſes, and in the gathering of manie to your Churches? have not your diſcourſes and conferences with ſome Miniſters and well affected people upon your points? (with manie other things that I could name) been a great cauſe of rending and dividing the godly Proteſtant partie, and of much diſtracting them, and of making ſeverall intereſts? Whence have come all the rents and diviſions (to ſpeak of) in

the godly Protestant partie, all the lets, stops and delayes in the intended Reformation, but from you and by occasion and means of you? The authoritie of your names holding these opinions (having the reputation of Schollars, and of excellent Preachers,) whereby you are cryed up of manie, and so much followed; your interest, and favour in too many considerable persons have drawne so much; had it not been for your sakes, these rents and divisions had never come to this head, there had not been that connivance, nor such delayes of setling government, &c. most of the rest of your way were in comparison contemptible both for name and gifts, and could not have done that hurt; and why then, in a time (by your own confession) *of absolute necessity of the nearest union and conjunction, and all little enough to effect that Reformation intended, and so long contended for against a common adversary, that had both present possession to plead for it selfe, power to support it, and had injoyed a long continued settlement, which had rooted it in the hearts of men*, have you done so much by preaching and acting to rend and divide the godlie Protestant partie? there was no absolute necessitie just at that time when you did preach and stirre for your way, for you to have done so; affirmatives though they do bind *semper*, yet not *ad semper*, there were greater truths in doctrine and in Reformation of government, which you might have preached on for that time, *but there was an absolute necessitie of the nearest union and conjunction*: I heartilie wish, this first reason and ground deeplie laid to heart by you, and then I know you must greatlie repent for what you have done in this particular, since your returne into *England*; and had not Good been, and were he not the more gracious, and better to us then ordinarie, your carriage, and what hath been by your means, would have spoiled our Reformation, and hath done much to keep the *common Adversary in his present possession, and long continued settlement*: but I pray God humble you for it, and forgive you; and seeing you *knew and considered, that it was the second blow that makes the quarrell, and that the beginning of strife would have been as the breaking in of waters*, why were you not contented with the giving of the first blow, and the first occasion of the quarrell, both by your former preaching and practising, but to adde this second great blow, the writing of this *Apologeticall Narration*, which though it be not on your parts the beginning of strife, yet it will prove as the breaking in of waters, and as the kindling of a fire, not likelie to be put out in hast.

2. *And this seconded by the instant and continuall advices and conjurements of many honourable, wise and godly Personages of both Houses of Parliament, to forbeare what might any way be like to occasion or augment this unhappy difference*

rence; They having alſo by their Declarations to His Majeſtie, profeſſed their endeavour and deſire to unite the Proteſtant party in this Kingdome, that agree in fundamentall truths againſt Popery and other hereſies, and to have that reſpect to tender conſciences as might prevent oppreſſions and inconveniences which hath formerly been.

I judge this ground ſconding the former, ſhould have been powerfull with you, to a *deep ſilence and forbearance*, everie particular branch of it ſpeaks ſtrongly to you, to forbeare what ever might anie way be like to occaſion, or augment this unhappie difference; Nay almoſt everie word in it, is an argument to command, *The inſtant and continuall advices and conjurements of many honourable, wiſe, and godly Perſonages of both Houſes of Parliament*, what might not all theſe have wrought? and then take in alſo, *that they had by their Declarations to His Majeſty*, &c. and that they would have *a reſpect to tender Conſciences*; Now what could we have wiſhed more, or what better ſecuritie for your ſelves and way: A man would think all theſe might have commanded you not to have acted for your ſelves and way, and certainlie your fault was the greater in doing contrarie, and you are the more inexcuſible, had not this ſeconded the former, yet your knowledge of the firſt was enough to have taken ingenuous ſpirits, but this ſeconding the firſt, it is too bad that you went contrarie *to the inſtant and continuall adviſes, and conjurements, of many Honourable, wiſe and godly Perſonages of both Houſes of Parliament.* As for thoſe paſſages inſerted in this Reaſon, the Parliaments *Declaration to His Majeſty*, profeſſing their endeavour and deſire to unite the Proteſtant partie in this Kingdome that agree in fundamentall truths, *and to have that reſpect to tender conſciences*, wherein you would inſinuate that the Parliament had put you in ſome hopes of a Toleration, and that grounded upon ſome paſſages in their Declarations, had you named what Declarations ſpeake ſo, I could have peruſed and examined them, and have returned you an anſwer; I queſtion it not; from the words and ſenſe; but to put it out of doubt, that the Parliament intends no Toleration, in ſuch words as having *reſpect to tender conſciences*, &c. I referre you to the firſt and great Remonſtrance and Declaration of the Houſe of Commons, wherein they declare the contrary, and ingage themſeves to the Kingdome againſt it, anſwering to that as a Calumnie caſt upon them to traduce their proceedings: *They infuſe into the people that we mean to abolish all Church-government, an leave everie man to his own fancie for the Service and Worship of God, abſolving him, of that obedience which he owes under God to His Majeſtie, whom we know to be intruſted*

A Remonſtrance of the ſtate of the kingdome. *Printed* 1641.

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ed with the Eccleſiaſticall Law as well as with the temporall, to regulate all the members of the Church of England by ſuch rules of Order and Diſcipline as are eſtabliſhed by Parliament, which is his great Councell in all affaires both in Church and State: And we do here declare, that it is farre from our purpoſe or deſire to let looſe the godlden reynes of Diſcipline and Government in the Church, to leave private perſons, or particular Congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they pleaſe; for we hold it requiſite that there ſhould be throughout the whole Realm a Conformity to that Order which the Lawes enjoyne according the Word of God: And we deſire to unburthen the conſciences of men of needleſſe and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, ſuppreſſe innovations, and take away the monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we deſire there may be a generall Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned and judicious Divines of this Iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from forraine parts profeſſing the ſame Religion with us, who may conſider of all things neceſſarie for the peace and good Government of the Church, and repreſent the reſults of their Conſultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the ſtamp of authority, thereby to find paſſage and obepience throughout the Kingdome. Alſo I reeferre you to Declarations both of Lords and Commons about Uniformity in Church-Government, Worſhip, &c. intended by them. And for the words as you expreſſe them here, *reſpect to tender Conſciences, as might prevent oppreſſions and inconveniences which had formerly been*; they interpret themſelves, implying a taking away the Ceremonies and other offenſive things, and a not inforcing and injoyning Subſcriptions to all points in matter of Order and Externall Government, as had formerly been: but as for Tolerating different Churches, and a different forme of Church-Government to be publikelie exerciſed, beſides the eſtabliſhed, as I do not believe that to be anie part of their meaning in their Declarations, ſo their words are expreſſe againſt it in the firſt remonſtrance, and in ſome later Declarations; beſides that the Parliament well knowes a Toleration would bring in greater inconveniences to tender Conſciences then can at firſt be imagined, and would prove a farre greater miſchiefe to the Church, and to Reformation both in Doctrine and Government, then Epiſcipall.

3. *Together with that ſtrict ingagemint willingly entred into by us for theſe common ends with the reſt of our brethren of the Miniſtery (which though made to continue but* ad placitum, *yet hath been ſacred to us*:) As for this third ground alledged by you for ſilence, it prevailed no more with you, then the former: for notwithſtancing this ſtrict ingagement, even ſince that time, you have both preached, and printed for your way, namely,

M. *Burroughs*

Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Goodwin, and manie of the particulars fore-mentioned have been preached since that agreement, so that it seemes *it had not been so sacred to you* as you would make the Reader believe. But if you answer, you understand that engagement entred into with the Ministers was *sacred to you*, and so observed as long as the agreement lasted, but the particulars instanced in preached by you were since that agreement ceased by mutuall consent: I answer, your words, and the scope for which they are brought joyned to the precedent passages, referre to silence, and forbearance till the time of putting forth this Apologie, and that Parenthesis, *which though made to continue but* ad placitum, implies so much, that though you were at libertie, yet you tooke not that libertie. But secondlie, I must mind you that the ground-work laid by you, by which you would the more commend your own silence, and moderation, namelie the agreement *to continue but ad placitum* was not so, for it was agreed upon it should continue till both sides in a full meeting did declare the contrarie, and in case one side did transgresse by preaching, &c. none of the other side should take liberue to do the like, till the companie was acquainted with it, and the thing proved, and the matters of difference not being taken up, the agreement thereupon was declared to be null, whereupon though some men included, and particularlie named at the agreement, were complained of in a full meeting to have transgressed the agreement, yet it was still continued notwithstanding some breach on the Independent side in reference to the publike union against the common enemy, and for those common ends, which was the first ground of it. 3. I desire it may be considered of by *Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Simpson*, and *Mr. Bridge*, whether some passages in some of their Sermons and Expositions about the Church-way, will not by calculating the time when they were preached, and the time of the ingagement for silence, (namelie before the formall Declaration of the Companie in a publike meeting, that the agreement ceased, and that every man was left (to his formall liberty) be found to be preached within the compasse of the time, even before the mutuall strict engagement was declared null: And because you here give the occasion, by making this *mutuall strict ingagement* between you and us one great ground of your *deep silence*, I shall thirdlie, and impartiallie (to my best remembrance) relate that wholesomnesse of the agreement of the Ministers for silence, the truth of which many Ministers then present upon the place can testifie also: The Ministers of both sides, both they and we desirous of Reformation in Church-Government, and Worship, being sensible how much our differences, and divisions might distract the Parliament, and hinder the taking away

of Episcopall Government, and the Reformation intended, in a full and great meeting consulted together upon waies to prevent it, and by vote agreed upon these: 1. That the Godly Ministers of the City and Country should continue the use of some part of the Liturgie (namely, what was best, and least offensive,) because they found that the Bishops fought under that Banner, and made use with the Gentry and body of the common people to wrap up themselves in that, suggesting that the Parliament would take away the Common Prayer Book, (which they made use of to save their own standing, and to worke their own ends the better.) And M. *Goodwin* ingenuously professed that he judged the moderate use of the Lyturgie in this juncture of things, and for a time, conduced much to the Reformation aimed at; and were his Principles as ours, that any prescribed Prayers might be used, he would use it, (and saving his Judgement about Lyturgies) his vote was to use it, whereupon there being such a generall concurrence of Judgment amongst the Ministers, some one or two Ministers in the City who were taken notice of wholly to disuse it, and to have laid it aside in all Administrations, were sent unto from the Company of Ministers (and one of them came presently) to whom the sence of the Company was represented, and he dealt with to take it up again, and to use some part of the Prayers in the Lyturgie, especially in the Administration of the Sacraments. Secondly, the Ministers finding that the preaching of some Lay-men, Tradesmen, and Mechanicks in the publique Congregations, was a great stone of offence in the building of the Temple, a way was agreed upon by the Ministers to deale with them, and to take them off that practise, and some of the Company (judged to be most gratious and powerfull with them) were chosen by the whole to deale with them, and to acquaint them with the sense of the Ministers, and some grounds against their practise, especially at that time (though the Company of Ministers who sent, declared formally their judgment against the practise of it all times.) Thirdly, A mutuall silence was agreed upon for both sides, both in preaching, printing, and conferring with the people, (and especially Parliament men) of any of the points in difference between us, but yet so that both they and we should joyn together to preach against the *Anabaptists* and rigid *Brownists*, which these Apologists promised. only they desired first to bring in a Narrative to us of all their opinions that they held in difference, (which also they promised with all convenient speed, in a short time should be brought in, and then they would preach against them;) Now for the better keeping of the agreement, and understanding one another, for preventing mistakes, and differences amongst us, a Committee was chosen out of the Company, some of them, and some of our side to draw up the particu-

lars in writing, which was accordingly done, and the Agreement under the hands of both sides for our part was to be left with M. *Calamie* (at whose house we met,) that so if any difference did arise, or complaint come, we might recurre to the writing drawn up between us, and accordingly doe: Now this *strict engagement entred into by you with the rest of your brethren in the Ministery for common ends*, brought by you here as one great ground of not attempting to *make a party*, and *of your deep silence and forbearance*, no one thing that ever was done by you was more advantagious to your side, and to the increasing of a party, (which indeed proved as it was feared it would, and was by my selfe and some others objected as a ground against any such agreement, for look what came of the Declarations set out by the King (by means of the Bishops) that in the Arminian points there should be on both sides a totall silence in preaching, and printing, (namely, a greater prevailing of the Arminian points, and spreading of them, but a suppressing of the Orthodox) so fell it out here, for by that means nothing was preached, nor printed against their way to hinder the growth of it, but in the mean time many things were preached and printed for it, our side made conscience of the promise, and forbore totally preaching and printing: For my own part, though for many Reasons I desired to have been excepted from the agreement, as being engaged by a former promise in print to set out speedily some Tractates against their way, and never did formally promise silence, yet because my brethren undertooke for me (for without my forbearing to print and preach, they would not have yeelded to the Agreement) that I might not be singular, and go against the Judgment of all my brethren (though my Judgment was against the promise of silence upon what I evidently foresaw would follow upon it, the advantage they would make by it to encrease a party) and that I might not be guilty of hindering the common ends held out, I did totally both in preaching and printing decline all those points of difference, and notwithstanding I heard and knew that some of their side preached contrary to the agreement, yet all that time untill it was openly declared in a full Assembly the agreement was broken, and I declared I would be at freedom; and some of them said the like, I preached not upon those points, wheras in this time many of their way preached for their way both in City and Country, and some who by name were spoken of at the agreement (as M. *P.* and M. *W.*) besides books were printed too in that *interim* for their way, as M. *Coltons* answer to M. *Ball* about Forms of Prayer, and his Church Catechisme, &c. In a word, in the whole carriage of that businesse they were too hard for us by their policy and subtilty, for whereas a mutuall silence was agreed upon both in preaching, &c. and that out of

hand they should bring in a Narrative of their opinions wherein they differed from us, and then should joyne with us in preaching against the *Brownists* and *Anabaptists*, they never brought in their Narrative till this day, and though at full meeting of the Ministers, they have beene spoken unto, and some Ministers have been sent from the Companie to some, or one of them, and the Narrative was promised at such a time, and then at such a time, yet it was never performed, and whereas the agreement in writing for our side was left in M. *Calamies* hand, M. *Nye* comes after some time to M. *Calamie*, and pretends some reasons for to borrow it for a while, but after he had it, he carries it away into Yorkshire, that so upon occasions of complaints of the breach of the agreement, when we would have consulted with that, that was gone, and M. *Nye* keeps it till this day, and having been moved to restorent, his answer is, it is at *Hull* amongst other papers.

4. *And above all the due respect we have had to the peaceable and orderly Reformation of this Church and State, the hopefull expectation we have been entertained with of an happy latitude and agreement by means of this Assembly, and the wisdom of this Parliament.*

Strong motives indeed, *peaceable and orderly Reformation with a hopefull expectation of an happy latitude and agreement*, powerfull and effectuall to have commanded *peaceable and orderly* men, but though you make these grounds above all the rest to have carried weight, yet they could no more prevaile with you then the fore-named, (as I have fully proved) and whether you have had such *due respect to the peaceable and orderly Reformation of this Church and State*, let what followes speake: Is it *peaceable and orderly* in a time when the Magistrate makes it his maine worke to reforme, and cals so manie godlie learned Ministers from all parts to consult with, to settle the Church and Government according to the Word of God, for particular private men to gather Churches, and to add to them dailie without and against the consent of the Magistrate; yea, against *the instant and continuall advices and conjurements of manie honourable, wise, and godly Personages of both Houses of Parliament, to forbear what might any way be like to occasion or augment this unhappy difference*; now no one thing could hardly more occasion or augment the differences then this of gathering Churches, according to your way, one or two out of this godlie Ministers Parish, one or two out of this Family, the wife from the husband against his consent, &c? Again, is it peaceable and orderlie for these gathered Churches to meet on the Sabbath day in private houses at the time of the publique Assemblies, whereby great tumults and combustions have been and may be occasioned in the streets? And is it a due respect to peaceable and orderly Reformation

tion to preach publiquely upon points in difference, and for a Toleration of divers Sects and opinions? And lastly, is that *a due respect to the peaceable and orderly Reformation of this Church and State*, to see in Churches (where you, and other Ministers of your way have preached) great tumults and disorders committed by your followers against the use of anie part of the Lyturgie, and yet never to reproove them for it, nor to teach them to expect and waite till the Parliament would settle things, which of you have preached against the tumults in Churches, or the Lay-preaching, or the gathering of Churches by the people? We have had a sprinkling of a little Court holy-water for a colour in one or two Sermons against some who say we have had no Churches, no Ministers, &c. with which the eyes of manie men who have not studied the controversies, neither understand them, have beene blinded, and by which you have the more readily drawne some either to your Church-way, by your pretended moderation, or to plead for you against the aspersion of Brownisme. But what have you either done really, or forborn for the *peaceable and orderly Reformation of this Church and State?* have not all the notorious and visible disorders in our Churches (since this Parliament) both in Citie and Countrey (which have wrought sith great disgusts in manie (though unjustlie) against the Reformation and the Parliament, that as old *Jacob* said to *Simeon* and *Levi*, *Ye have troubled me, to make me to stinke amongst the inhabitants of the Land, and I being few in number, they shall gather themselves together against me, and slay me, &c.* so might Reformation and Parliament speake) been committed by your followers, and men of your way and Communion, yea manie of them in your presence, when some of you have beene to preach (for as for the rigid *Brownists* and *Anabaptists* they come not to our Assemblies at all.) O the great advantage and gaine the common enemie hath made amongst manie of these things, and the great loss and hindrance the Reformation and Parliament hath sustained by them. What that *happie latitude and agreement is* with which you have been so *hopefully entertained* by some, you should have done well to have spoken out, and have told us whether anie men in place have given you promises of a Toleration for your way, (for I suppose by your phrase that is the happie latitude and agreement you meane.) But if anie have, I hope it is no more then they can perform and make good, besides those persons are free from their promise, and you have justlie forfeited that hopefull expectation, for whereas they *entertained* you with it (as your selves say) that you mght keep silence, and forbear all acting for your selves or way, you have practised quite contrarie (as is evident by the manie instances given in my Answer to this Section:) Now as *this deep silence and forbearance*

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of yours, is sufficientlie disprooved (for what heare I words, when I see deeds so contrarie) so neither *the conscience nor consideration of all these, nor the weight of each have had anie great power with you hitherto, but your own interests*: For your private particular Church-way hath *prevailed with you* above all the publike, *to occasion great disturbance amongst the people*; and so great disturbance hath been, and is occasioned by your meanes, that the swarme is up and settles in so manie places, as without Gods great mercie, they will never be got into one hive againe. The Lord onely knowes when these disturbances will be setled and quieted, it were easie to fill up such a booke as your *Apologeticall Narration* with the particulars of the disturbances occasioned amongst the people, by meanes of you, and other Ministers of your communion.

In a word, at that time when some of you, whose names are here subscribed, did keepe anie silence, I thinke, it was not so much these Reasons pretended by you, as the advantage of our silence in forbearing preaching and printing, (some bookes being then even readie to have come out) that was aimed at, and was a greater weight then the Reasons here mentioned by you, and besides you in your wisdomes knew well enough there were manie of your way (though you were silent) would be doing and driving on the trade, there would be preaching and printing that would serve to take with the people, and in the interim you should gaine time to ripen, shapen and bring forth your opinions the better with their grounds: As to those words in the close of this Section, *we have and are yet resolved to bear all this with a quiet and strong patience, in the strength of which we now speake or rather sigh forth this little, &c.* So it seems, witnesse this *Apologeticall Narration*, that you *have, and are resolved to bear all this with a quiet and strong patience.* It is a wonder if your patience was so *quiet and so strong, (in the strength of which you now speake, or rather sigh forth this little* book) you could not forbear a little longer from putting forth this Popular and Rhetoricall Discourse to take the people with, and to vindicate your selves and way (especiallie having so manie advantages.) 1. *That many of the mists gathered about you were in a great measure scattered without speaking a word.* 2. The good opinion both Houses had of you to make you members of the Assembly, with other favours conferred upon you. 3. Your swimming with the streame of popular applause, cried up, and followed so by the people, with your great interest and familiaritie in manie men of place and power. 4. Eminent Lectures, and the most publique places to preach in. 5. Above all, your being members of the Assembly, as also the Assembly being upon the very borders of the points in difference: In consideration of all which

which (I judge) a very little patience might have served the turne to have left the *vindication of your persons to God, and to a further experience of you by men*; so that, it seemes not true to mee, *that in the strength of a quiet and strong patience, you now speake or sigh forth this Apologie*, but rather this Apologie was made for want of patience to waite, and out of that common designe of acting for your selves and way, and to lay in something before-hand with the Parliament and the people, (what ever the Assembly might chance to conclude;) in a word, to prejudge the Assembly, to play the fore-game, and to prepossesse the mindes of men with a further high opinion of you and your way: but I believe, God hath turned all to the contrarie, taking the wise in their owne craftinesse, and this Apologie hath, and will make more against you then anie one thing you ever did. I have beene told by an intimate familiar friend of yours, that one of you five told him, it proved quite contrary to your expectation, and you admired at it, it should bee so ill taken by the Assembly, &c. It is the worst evill that ever befell you since your returne from your exile, worse then all the *mis-understandings and mis-representations of your opinions, and the incitements to the State edged with calumnies and reproaches* against Toleration of your Churches, and *the sudden and unexpected noyse of confused exclamations*: So soone as ever I read it over with deliberation, I presently apprehended it the beginning of your fall, (in regard of your Church-way,) and could not but wonder at the providence of God, in leaving you to pen such a strange piece, both for matter and manner, so fulthie liable to exceptions and offence, which would loose you amongst your friends, and draw Pennes of all sorts and from all parts against you, and give occasion for drawing up such answers to it (and you can blame none but your selves) as would upon necessity discover, and lay open both matter of fact and opinions more then ever else there would have beene anie pretence of ground to have done it. *As for referring the vindication of your persons to God, and a further experience of you by men.* I answer, that without great repentance for this *Apologeticall Narration*, and some other practises since your returne into *England*, instead of Gods vindicating your Persons, you cannot but expect God will visit you; and whether hereafter men may have occasion to vindicate you upon further experience of you, I referre that to time, but for the experience they have had of you this Parliament, before the writing of

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this Apologie, and by the writing of it, and ſince till this verie day, they can have no great cauſe of vindicating you, but rather (particularlie by this Apologie) they have matter of great offence and ſcandall: And I judge this Apologie hath in one ſence given a further *experience of your wayes and ſpirits* to men, then the experience of manie yeares hereafter might have done. As for referring the *Declaration of your judgements, and what you conceive to be Gods truth therein to the due and orderly agitation of this Aſſembly*: why did you not as you ſpeak, referre it *to the agitation of the Aſſembly*, but write this book juſt before the agitation, wherin you had declared your judgments in the poines controverted, & let me ask you, ſeeing you meant to referr the *declaration of your judgements to the due and orderly agitation of this Aſſembly*, why would you agitate the points before hand, as in this Apologie in ſo undue and diſorderlie a way, why would you ſo publiquely engage your ſelves in print before-hand, yea, and peremptorilie conclude the points before ever diſputed, (as in the 23, 24 pages you doe.) And let me tell you, you had need agitate what you conceive to be truth in this cauſe more duly and orderly in the Aſſemblie, then you do in the Apologie; for I believe this Apologie (conſidering all circumſtances) was born and brought forth the moſt out of due time and order of any book put forth this forty yeares. As for that clauſe, *of this Aſſembly, whereof both Houſes were pleaſed to make us Members*, it might have been here ſpared, becauſe in the title of the book, and in other places you ſpeak of your ſelves as members of the Aſſembly, but if you added it here as by way of acknowledgement of the great favour and good pleaſure of the Houſes to make you ſo, (being members of other Churches then the Church of *England*, and having received another Miniſterie, and never purpoſing to be bound by the determinations of the Aſſembly,) then there may be ſome reaſon of this addition.

Apolog. *And whereas our ſilence upon all the fore-mentioned grounds (for which we know we can never loſe eſteem with good and wiſe men) hath beene by the ill interpretation of ſome, imputed either to our conſcionſneſſe of the badneſſe and weakneſſe of our Cauſe, or to our unability to maintain what we aſſert in difference, from other, or anſwer what hath beene written by others, we ſhall (with all modeſtie) only preſent this to all mens apprehenſions in confutation of it: That what ever the truth and juſtneſſe of our Cauſe may prove to be, or how ſlender our abilities to defend it, yet we pretend at leaſt with ſo much wiſdome, that we would never have reſerved our ſelves for, but rather by all wayes have declined this Theatre, of all other, the moſt judicious and ſevere, an Aſſembly of ſo manie able, learned, and grave Divines, where much of the Pietie, wiſdome, and learning of two Kingdoms are met in one, honoured and aſſiſted with the preſence of*

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the Worthies of both Houses at all debates (as often as they please to vouchsafe their presence) as the stage whereon first we would bring forth into publique view our Tenets (if false and counterfeit) together with our own folly and weaknesse: We would much rather have chosen to have been venting them to the multitude, apt to be seduced, (which we have had these three yeares opportunity to have done.) But in a conscientious regard had to the orderly and peaceable way of searching out truths, and reforming the Churches of Christ, we have adventured our selves upon this way of God, wisely assumed by the providence of the State; And therein also upon all sorts of disadvantages (which we could not but foresee) both of number, abilities of learning, Authority, the streame of publique interest: Trusting God both with our selves and his own truth, as he shall be pleased to manage it by us.

I answer, whereas you speak of *silence upon all the forementioned grounds*, you have not been silent in the Pulpits, and among the people, but in many Sermons, and in divers Congregations, and at sundry times, most of you have both plainly, particularly, and at large, (besides more darkly and generallie) preached your Church-way: so that, what you would inferre is denyed you; for had you indeed been *silent* amongst the people, and where you ought to have kept silence, you could not have *left esteeme with good and wise men*, but it had been your praise with God and Men: but this is that I charge you with, and for which you may well suffer in the thoughts of *good and wise men*, that you have been very silent and reserved where you should have spoken, and have been desired; and where the free and plain declaring your judgements would not have prejudiced the forementioned grounds, but on the other hand where you should have been silent, and your speaking could tend to no other ends, but to disunion in dividing the godlie party, and to the increasing of your own partie, there you have been free to speak out, but to your godlie and learned brethren in the Ministerie differing from you, you never brought in a Narrative of your Tenets, (as was desired, and you promised) nor ever laid downe clearly your positions with the grounds of them, (as who but you would in three yeares time have done, and have desired satisfaction) but you still declined disputes and reasonings upon the points in difference, as upon that about Formes of Prayer, (whereupon the meeting among Ministers was laid aside for a time.) You never answered anie of the bookes written by men of *much worth and learning, and with much strength and moderation*, (as your selves confesse) but it was still given out by your followers upon the comming forth of the bookes, they should be answered, and that the Question was mistaken, and you held not so, with such like put offs: You have declined giving in your

positions and grounds to some Parliament men that desired them, who promised to be readie to do anie thing for you, provided they might know what your way was, and see your grounds to consider of them, whether they were according to Scriptures: but now in Pulpits, and in houses among common people (and especially the female sex) apt to be seduced, strong in their affections, and loving too much Independencie, but weak and easie in their understandings, not able to examine grounds and reasons, nor to answer you, there you have vented abundantly your conceits, setting fire upon the thatch of the house (as M. *John Goodwin* in former times used to expresse it.) Upon which grounds and considerations no marvell though it were interpreted by some Ministers, and by my selfe too, (I free be confesse it) that you were somwhat conscious *of a weake and bad Cause, or of unabilitie to maintaine what you assented in difference from others, or to answer the books written against your way*: and I appeale to the Reader, whether this was an ill Interpretation, or whether we might not justlie and rationallie impute such a silence to the badnesse and weaknesse of the cause, &c. It was ever accounted an argument of a weake and bad cause, to delay, and shift off the triall, and hearing of it; and of a bad commoditie to be shy of the light; and I have read it somewhere as a speech quoted out of *Tacitus*, *that opinion ought to be suspected, which would be hid*, and you know that common saying, *Veritas non quærit angulos*. But as for that which you *present to all mens apprehensions for the confutation* of that Interpretation and Construction of your silence; *That whatever the truth and justnesse of your cause may prove to be, or how slender your abilities to defend it, yet you pretend at least to so much wisdome, that you would never have reserved your selves for, but rather by all wayes have declined this Theatre of all others the most judicious and severe, an Assembly of so many able, learned, and grave Divines*, &c. I answer, it is no concluding argument, it follow cannot, because there is an Assemblie now sitting, whereof you are members, where you resolve to bring forth your grounds for your Tenets, that therefore your former silence then, could not be imputed to *consciousnesse of a bad cause, or unabilitie to maintain it*, and it will appear thus: because of the different times, and that distance between then and now, your might not see such good grounds, nor bee so well versed and studied in it then, besides you might be in great hopes that it would be long before anie such Assembly should meet, (as it was) and when they did meet, it should be long before those points should come to dispute and debate, (as we see hath fallen out) and in the mean time you should gaine time, which Politicians and wise men (as you are) make much account of, and set that against manie things whereby

whereby to worke out their ends; and then you should try the spirits of men in the Assembly, and see how things were like to goe; and if things did not cotten to your mind, you might returne back, and so never discover your weaknesse: but if things went on well, and affaires were likely to succeed on the Parliaments side, and matters must come to dispute and debate in the Assemblie, then you would do as you should find occasion, and fall upon such consultations as the times would suffer, then reason and dispute it when brought to a necessitie, and it could not be helped; but yet so long as no need kept it off, especiallie upon some hopes it might never come to that: manie will adventure upon a thing with more disadvantages when they see there is no remedie for it, who yet so long as they can be at choise and at libertie will decline the thing out of diffidence of their strength, and fear of their abilitie to carrie it. Manie a man shuns fighting when he can avoid it, out of consciousnesse of his weaknesse, and want of skill, and hopes of doing so still, who yet when he must either fight or die, will fight and lay about him as well as he is able, and this was, and is your case: And whereas you say, *what ever your cause may prove to be, &c. yet you pretend at least so much wisdome, that you would never have reserved your selves for the Assembly, &c.* I must answer you, I believe upon good grounds, and so do manie more, you never tooke anie great content or joy in the thoughts of this Assemblie, but have done your utmost to delay it, and to put it by: God knowes your hearts, and men some of your speeches about the meeting of this Assembly, but seeing it could not be helped, and that you could not keep it off by all your friends, you could neither will nor chuse, you have *reserved your selves*, and not *by all wayes declined* being members of it; and good reason why, for otherwise you must have lost all, and for ever have had your mouths stopt for your way, if being chosen of the Assembly you had declined it; but by being members of the Assembly, you hoped at least to do something for your way, hinder, and stumble the other way, keep it longer from being setled (by which you should gain, and make an advantage) or get a Toleration for your Churches, or possibly might carrie it at least in some things: For without doubt you reasoned after this manner, There are some ten for our way in the Assembly, and we hope to bring in more of our mind (as you have attempted since the sitting of the Assembly) some besides there are of the Assembly fairlie inclining towards us, and ready to comply with us, some also but little studied in the points, and other more indifferent about Government: now wee in policy, diligence, speech, and parts excelling many others too, may have some hopes to carrie it, or at least to qualifie and moderate the Assembly to our way;

(especiallie having observed the Ministers so desirous of peace, and loath to breake with us almost upon ahie termes:) but supposing the worst whatever the issue of things might prove to be in the Assemblie, you had this *Maxime* to guide you by, when men can do no otherwise, they must do as well as they can: And as for the wisdome you pretend unto, not to *bring forth your Tenets into publique view first on the stage of the Assembly (if false and counterfeit) together with your own folly and weakneſſe*: I answer, the wisdome that manie have pretended to, (as much as you can) hath deceived them; and instead of truth and strength have brought forth their folly and weakneſſe; and whether none of you, who *pretend to much wisdome*, have not in the Assemblie brought forth into publique view, upon occasion of your Tenets, their follie and weakneſſe, I leave the Assemblie to judge of that. Onlie before I take off my hand from *this* brought by you *in confutation of the ill interpretation of some*, I cannot let passe this Testimonie given by you Five to the *Assembly*: *That it is a Theatre of all other the most judicious and severe, an Assembly of so many able, learned, and grave Divines, where much of the piety, wisdome and learning of two Kingdomes are met in one, &c.* which testimonie given by you to this Assemblie, and that Character given by you of the people and the Professors of this Kingdome in *page* 24. and 28. are worthie to be observed and are of great use in theſe times, when the Assemblie and their proceedings are so much traduced and spoken against by your followers and Churches; and let me make this use of it to the people, and sadlie put this question to their Consciences, Whether is more probable, that an *Assemblie so judicious, of so many able, learned, and grave Divines, where much of the piety, wisdome, and learning of two Kingdomes are met in one*, going in Gods way (as you say, *page* 28.) making it their worke and busineſſe to find out the Government and the truth about the order of the Church visible, and giving freedome of debates to men of different minds and apprehensions, seeking God publiquelie and privatlie dailie (with so manie prayers put up for them in all Churches at home, and abroad beyond the Seas,) should find out the truth; or Mr. *Lockyer*, M. *Batcheler*, M. *Carter*, with a company of weake, ignorant men and women, youths and maids, *apt to be seduced and ready to take any impressions, and to be cast into any mould that hath but the appearance of a stricter way*? As to those words: *We would much rather have chosen to have been venting them to the multitude apt to be seduced*: I answer, so you did, *much rather chuse to vent* your opinions and principles both in publique and private *to the multitude, apt to be seduced*, according *to the opportunities you had these three yeares*, then to communicate them to your godly brethren of the Ministerie, (as I have before

before fully shewed.) For this passage of yours, *But in a conscientious regard had to the orderly and peaceable way of searching out truths, and reforming the Churches of Christ, we have adventured our selves upon this way of God, wisely assumed by the prudence of the State*; whether this be so or no, *that you have had a conscientious regard to the orderly and peaceable way of searching out truth, and reforming the Churches of Christ*, let my last answer, and what is before proved, witnesse, and if out of a conscientious regard to the orderly, &c. you adventured to be members of the Assemblie, and upon this way by an Assemblie of searching out truths, why did you not before the Assemblie forbeare the disorderlie and unpeaceable way of venting your selves to the multitude, and of gathering Churches, &c. as also since the Assemblie the disorderlie and unpeaceable way of searching out truths in writing this Apologie, in preaching some Sermons, with some other practises, which were no orderlie nor peaceable waies of searching out truths (especiallie the Assemblie sitting;) But let them believe you that will, I judge, and that upon grounds and hints alreadie given, that other things made you adventure to be of the Assemblie, and to come thither constanthe, rather then the conscientious regard had to the orderlie and peaceable way of searching out truths; and I cannot let passe without some animadversions the phrase used by you here of your being members of the Assemblie, *We have adventured our selves*, a verie significant and true expression, for I believe you accounted this Assemblie a great Adventure for your Church-way, and such a bottome as you would not have put it in, (at least not so soon) if all the waies you could have devised under heaven would have hindred it, but it happened to you according to the Proverb, *Nothing venture, nothing have*; for supposing there must be an Assemblie, you might perhaps by being members of it do your selves and way some good, but by declining and refusing it; you had been certainlie lost. But brethren, what is the reason, that in this Section, wherein you give so full a testimonie to the Assemblie, and of your great adventuring to be members of it, that you annex in the close these words following: *And therein also upon all sorts of disadvantages, both of number, abilities of learning, Authority, the streame of publique interest, trusting God both with our selves and his own truth*, &c. Whether does not this somewhat reflect upon the Assemblie? as if there were a great hazard that things would be carried there by *number, abilities of learning, Authority, the streame of publique interest*, rather then by truth? for if points were not likelie to be carried so, by plurality of Votes, &c. but by the cleerest proofes from Scripture, then these were no disadvantages to you, but all the advantage would lie on that side whether manie or few, whether greater Scholars, or lesse, that could

bring the ſtrongeſt Scripture-grounds; and I muſt tell you, that in ſuch an Aſſembly as you confeſſe this is, and is well known to be, both for the perſons and ends of its calling, that great liberty of ſpeech and debate, with that ſolemne Proteſtation taken by every member at firſt ſetting there, a man need not account thoſe things ſpecified by you for any diſadvantages: for any two or three men; nay, one of a different judgement in Doctrine or diſcipline from that Aſſembly, having truth on his ſide, and but ſo much learning as to manage and make out his evidences (though a man of no authority) might eaſily cauſe the conſciences of moſt there to own and fall down before that truth, and to change their minds; yea, and to bleſſe God for the light, and imbrace the perſon or perſons that brought it: much leſſe need you, whoſe number is ſufficient, about ten (beſides ſome who are halfe Independents,) having parts and abilities enough, and Authority to manage your arguments, and even to command free and long audience, complaine of theſe things for diſadvantages; but I am jealous this paſſage is here inſerted and brought in to poſſeſſe the peoples minds (fearing by this time this Apologie was ſet out, things might not go on your ſide) and to give them ſomthing to confirme them in your way, to teach them what to ſay, namely though you had the truth, and brought ſuch ſtrong arguments as were not anſwered, yet you could not be heard, but matters were carried againſt you by pieces, (the greater number of the Aſſembly by farre being of another judgment, as alſo by the ſtreame of publike intereſt, Authority, &c.) And many of the people of the Church-way ſpeak thus already, that the Aſſembly cannot anſwer your arguments, but beare you down with numbers; the Parliament ſhould have done well to have choſen as many of your way as on the other ſide, and then there would have been a faire and even triall: but I will examine all your diſadvantages apart, and give you and the Reader a particular account of them.

Firſt, for *Number*, though you have not ſo many of your judgment in the Aſſembly, yet you have a competent *number* to plead your cauſe, and to be the mouth for all of your way, to ſpeak whatever any of your way can ſay for it. Secondly, when an Aſſemblie was firſt agreed upon, there were not many more Miniſters and Schollers of your way in the Kingdome, who were capable of ſuch a ſervice, (however you may be increaſed ſince) ſo that you had as much advantage as your condition was capeable of, yea and favour too. Thirdly, Conſidering the many hundred Miniſters in this Kingdome that petitioned for Reformation, and ſubſcribed the Remonſtrance, (who alſo bore the heat of the day and never flinched for it) and the ſmall number of the Independent (who fled alſo to ſave their ſtake, and to keep in a whole skin)

skin) having quitted to our Churches and Ministery, and making no account to be bound by the determinations of the Assembly, it is more in proportion, both Arithmeticall and Geometricall, to have Ten of you members in the Assemblie, then some hundreds of our Ministers; and yet you know, the whole number of Divines who meet there, does not much exceed 80 persons. Fourthly, Number is little, where conscientious men having taken such a Protestation, come together to seek out truth, being free also to receive and chuse any government laid down in the Word, and not over-awed by power, or feare of crushing; nor byassed by hopes of preferment: it is true; in such an Assemblie, as the Convocation-House of Bishops, and their Clerks was, number was a great disadvantage.

Secondly, for abilities of Learning, I grant you there are manie members of the Assemblie go far beyond anie of you in that; yet among you all, and in some particular men of you, there are abilities enough of Learning, speech, and wit, to bring out and enforce to the greatest advantage upon studie, taking time (which you do) and writing down your grounds, anie Scripture or Reasons for your way, so that you need not complain for want of Learning, but for want of Truth in your cause, which will afford rather no better arguments for it.

Thirdlie, For Authoritie, I know not well what you meane by that in this place (you having so manie doubtfull passages in your Apologie) whether the Authoritie of Parliament, or whether the Ministers who are for Presbyterie have greater Authoritie in the Assemblie than you, or what else. Now if you meane the first, that the Presbyterian partie hath the advantage of you, namely the Authoritie of Parliament: I answer, the Parliament interposes no authoritie to determine what government shall be, but calls the Assemblie to advise with, and draw up for them what government is most agreeable to the Word, giving also a liberty to the fewer number in matters of dissent to give in their Reasons (as you in the 5. page grant, and maple you will do;) And as for the Parliament who are Authority, there are but few Ministers of the Assemblie, who have been able to do more with them then you? or, who have had a greater interest in their favour then your selves? witnesse all passages of Parliament from first to last, wherein the Parliament hath honoured anie of the Ministers either in preaching before them upon solemne occasions, or in calling this Assemblie; or in imploying them about the *Scottish* affaires, either in *England*, or into *Scotland*, or in the setting up a Lecture at *Westminster*, or in appointing [illegible] of Books, what ever it hath been, or how few the number [illegible] employed, though but two, or three, yet still an Independent [illegible]

But secondlie, if you mean that the Ministers who differ in judgement from you have greater Authoritie in the Assemblie then you, I answer, you are all equall, having a brotherlie equalitie there; the whole Assemblie not having Authoritie, that is Jurisdiction and power of censure over the meanest, to cast him out, or to hinder him from speech, according to rule and order. And as for Authoritie of speaking in the Assemblie and of being heard, some of you have exercised as much of that as most there; and for authoritie with the people to lead them, whether you, or most of the Ministers in the Assemblie have the greatest is no controversie; witnesse the deep censures upon the Assemblie, and the godlie Ministers everie where, by multitudes of the people, but the great applause and crying up of you and other Independents? So that if authoritie with manie well-meaning people be an advantage it is on your side, and that hath done you heretofore some service, to make manie men more shie of preaching against your way, because of your great authoritie with the people, that being ground enough to put manie men out of the state of grace with some sorts of people; besides if authoritie in the peoples hearts could sway anie thing with the Assemblie against the truth, yet but to suspend their judgements about the truth (as I am confident it doth not) then you would have the advantage of authoritie, to sway the Assemblie rather to your side, then against you.

4. For the fourth disadvantage, *the stream of publike interest*, this is a dangerous insinuation against the Assemblie, yea and the Parliament too, without whom nothing the Assembly doth can be of anie validitie, as if they would be carried with the *stream of publike interest* rather then by the Word of God, and would bend the Word of God *to the stream of publike interest*; now let me put you this dilemma, either the *publike interest* of this Kingdom at this time will stand and agree with the Word of God, or it will not; if it will stand, then not onlie the Assemblie, but you also should be for that interest, accounting *the publike interest*, so suiting to the Word of God an advantage; but if it will not stand with the Word, but that the *streame of publike interest* runs one way, and Gods Word another way, can you think the Assemblie will be carried with publike interest, and leave the streame of the word? would not the Assemblie rather follow the Word of God, accounting walking according to that, the *great and most publike interest*? hath the Parliament, Kingdom and Ministers done and suffred so much for a Reformation according to the Word of God, and now after all this, is there a *stream of publike interest* divided from the Word to carrie away the Ministers called together according to which a government must be framed, and the Church reformed, and this is the great disadvantage that some members of

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the Assemblie, who would go according to the word of God meet withall, and must be put to swimme against: Brethren, what will the Prelates say of our Reformation and Church-government when you speake this? have not you put a sword into their hands this day against us and shall we not feare of it? but I wish brethren whilst you thus asperse the Assemblie with the danger of being carried away with *the stream of publike interest*, that the stream of your own particular private interest, and credit among the people did not too much carrie you away, as manie other wayes, so in writing of this Apologie; But the Reader may aske, what is the plain English of *the stream of publike interest*, according to which there was so great danger the Assemblie would swimme? I answer, I conceive one of these two things, or else it is probable both are meant by the Apologists. 1. That the Ministers of the Assemblie for themselves and their fellow Ministers, would stand for such a government as wherein the power should be in their own hands, and not in the peoples, to do with them for maintenance and standing at their pleasure, and therefore they would establish Presbyteriall government rather then Independent. 2. The Parliament of *England* upon great Armies raised against the *King needing help*, calls in for the Kingdom of *Scotland* to assist them, now the *Scots* being for Presbyteriall government, and against Independent, and desirous of uniformitie in government between the Kingdomes, therefore for gratifying the *Scots*, the Assemblie is like to be swayed that way, is this the stream of publike interest meant by you? oh how unworthy an insinuation is this, and how prejudiciall this will be to the Reformation in after times, I desire you to consider of in coole blood, and what the enemies will say of it, the government and Reformation of this Church was not free, not according to the word of God, but what *Scotland* would have, *Englands* need of *Scotland* made them, at least swayed much to take up their government; but however this is insinuated for the holding up the credit of your cause against the time the Assembly shall come to reject it as Apocrypha, yet I must tell you, you *foresaw* that, which is no such *stream of publike interest*, nor no cause of disadvantage to you: For the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland* were not sent hither to put their government upon us, but came as well to receive anie light and help, as to give, and to come to us in what should be found upon debate more agreeable to the word, as we to come to them, and the Covenant of the Kingdoms doth not tye us to the Reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, but binds us to Reformation according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches; and then requires both of us and them an uniformitie according to the word of God: And indeed the Assembly consisting of *so many able, learned and grave*

where much of the wisedome, pietie and learning of two Kingdomes are met, cannot well be thought to be carried away from the word *by the streame of publick interest*, especiallie most of the Assemblie being *men not engaged by obligation or otherwise to any other of the Reformed Churches*, or by former declarations of their judgments, nor appointed by the Parliament to Presbyteriall government, but left freelie to be guided by the light of the word in this way of God communicated to them, besides that the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland* (however they be present in the Assemblie to heare debates and to give their Reasons) yet neyre gave their voices in anie point that hath passed the Assemblie. As for the close of this Section, *trusting God both with your selves and his own truth as he shall be pleased to manage it by us*. Had you in adventuring your selves upon this Assemblie, and therein reallie believing all the sorts of disadvantages (as you here speake) *trusted God both with your selves* and that you call *his own truth*, some of you would neuer have brought such arguments for your way (as you have done.) And certainlie if some of you did *trust God as you ought with your selves*, ye would not trust so much to your wits and policie, nor be so full of reservations, further-more doubtfull expressions as you are. And brethren let me deale with you plainlie (I hope it may do you good,) manie speake of your policie and subtilnesse, some who are strangers to you (yea being members of the Assemblie) and beholding your managing of your opinions and way there, wonder that good men should be so politick and subtill as you are, especiallie if the cause were good.

Apology. *Moreover if in all matters of Doctrine, wee were not as Gods dear ones in our judgments as our brethren themselves, we should never have exposed our selves to this triall and hazard of discovery in this Assembly, the mixture of whose spirits, the quick sightednesse of whose judgments (intent enough upon us) and variety of adverse aimes, all sorts of controversies after in these times of contradiction, are such, as wee could like some to finde us out if we nourished any monstery or serpent of opinion lurking in our bosomes. And if we had carried it so, as that hitherto no grievous mote was afore-hand espyed in the eye and judgment of all, sitting here (unlesse we would be silent, which we have not been) we could not long be hid. But it is sufficiently known that in all points of doctrine (which hitherto in the review and examination of the Articles of our Church, or upon other occasions we have been gone through) our judgments have still concurred with the greatest part of our brethren, neither do we know wherein we have differred. And in matters of discipline we are so far from holding upon differences that seeme, or making the breaches greater or wider, that we endeavour upon all such occasions to grone and yeeld (as all may see and censure but reflexe for us) to the utmost lati-*

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truths of our light and conscience; professing it to be as high a point of Religion and conscience, readily to run, yea fall down before whatsoever is truth in the hands of those that differ, yea though they should be enemies unto us, as much as carefully to contend for and hold fast those truths wherein we should be found dissenting from them: and this is in relation to peace, so also as a just due to truth and goodness, even to approve it and acknowledge it to the uttermost grain of it, though mingled with what is opposite unto us. And further when matters of discussion are brought to the touchstone of truth, that we may be have hitherto been found to be no backward nor averse unto a temper (not only in things that have concerned our own consciences, but where of others also) such as may suite and tend to union as well as searching out of truth; judging this to be as great and usefull an end of Synods and Assemblies, as accurious and exact discussion of all sorts of lesser differences with binding determinations of truth one way.

Whether *in all matters of Doctrine* all of you be *as Orthodox* in your Judgments as your brethren themselves, I question it, (though in the most Doctrines and in the main I grant it) I have been told of some odd things in matter of Doctrine preached by one of you five both in *England* and *Holland*, and of some points preached in the Church of *Arnheim* never questioned there, and since printed, not verie Orthodox, as for instance (amongst others) That the soules of the Saints do not go to heaven to be with Christ, expresse contrarie to the 2. *Cor.* 5. 6, 8. and to *Philip.* 1. 23.

* Now whether some of you may not hold those opinions, seeing they were publiquely preached at *Arnheim*, and never condemned (as ever I heard,) I know not, but have reason rather to suspect you do, however though you do not nourish any Monsters or Serpents of opinions in your bosomes, yet I feare you have running wormes in your * heads, and together with the gold, silver, and Ivorie of Orthodox truths, you have store of Apes and Peacocks, conceits and toyes, as strange coined distinctions, new strained expositions of Scriptures, odd opinions about the personall raigne of Christ on Earth, and I ask you what the annointing with oyle of sick persons as an Ordinance for Church-members, and what the bringing in of Hymnes composed by the gift of a Church-member, *cum multis aliis*, are? whether are not these strange conceits and however you may be free of *Monsters and Serpents of opinions lurking in your bosomes*, yet there is much of a *Monster and the Serpent* lurking in this

* The Doctrine also of God being the Author of sin, that monster was brought forth in one of your Churches, vid. Rook exam. Cornelius Ten Broeck. Assembl. Declaration upon it.

* Luther upon Genes. relates of strange opinions extant in his time, that some had Serpents in their belly, and some had Wormes in their braine. *Quod horrendum audias ut quidam Serpentes vivos, alios draconibus horribiles.*

Apologie, and to be sure one Monster of opinions you all hold generallie, and some of you have preacht for, A Toleration of divers sects and opinions, and let me tell you, granting you five be so Orthodox, and supposing your argument good to prove it, *exposing your selves to the hazard of discovery in this Assembly* (which is no concluding argument) yet there are many members of those Churches to which you belong, besides manie other members of Churches of your way and communion, whom I suppose must be tolerated as well as your selves, that do hold verie odd and strange things. Some of *Arnheim* hold strange conceits, and some members of Mr. *Symsons* Church hold some of the points of the Anabaptists, and daily the Independent Churches like Africa do breed and bring forth the Monsters of Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, Familisme, nay that huge Monster and old flying Serpent of the Mortality of the soule of man, and indeed there is no end of errours that the Independent principles and practises lead unto. As for those words, *if we had carried it so as that hitherto such errours were not aforehand open to the view and judgment of all yet sitting here, unlesse we would be silent we could not be long hid*, &c. I answer, some one or two Heterodox opinions may be hid where men are Orthodox in the most, especiallie if all points of doctrine have not been discussed, nor reviewed, as in the Assemblie they have not, (manie Articles of our Church not having yet been gone through) so that your errors in doctrine may be behind, and your triall of being Orthodox will be when the Assemblie comes to these Articles: *Article* 19, 22, 23. and 26. and when that doctrine concerning the Lawfulnesse of a Toleration of divers sects and opinions shall come to be discussed: But before I passe from this, I desire the Apologists to remember and the Reader to observe, they call the Church of *England Our Church*, and so in the fift page of this Apologie *Our own Congregations, we mean of England*. So that if you mean as you here write, then the Nationall Church of *England* is your Church, and the Parochiall Congregations are yours, and so you establish a Nationall visible Church under the new Testament, and if so, why do you erect other Churches, and withdraw from your own? but if you do not mean so, nor believe there is a Nationall visible Church, nor account your selves members of this Nationall Church, why do you speak so, and call the Church of *England your own Church*, and the Parochiall Churches your *own Congregations*? As for that part of this Section which concerns your good carriage in the Assemblie in matters of Discipline, *In matters of Discipline we are so far from holding up the differences that occurre, or making the breaches greater or wider, that we endeavour upon all such occasions to grant and yeeld*, &c. I not being present at the debates will say nothing against it, but whether since the Writing of your Apologie, and the Assemblie comming to

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the points of Discipline which are properlie yours, (your free-hold) you have seen so faire and moderate, endeavouring upon all occasions to grant and yeeld to the utmost latitude of your light and Consciences, that I doubt and your best friends are not satisfied in it, but rather much offended, and you have much lost your selves with them, by your demeanour and way of managing matters of difference in the Assemblie: But supposing all you say of your selves in this Section were fullie so, both before, and since your Apologie, yet it were not much materiall, nor much to be trusted to, being upon the triall of your good behaviour: for it is probable all that may be done out of policie, in reference to the main design of obtaining a Toleration, which at first cannot be imagined to have anie probabilitie of being gained without all seeming fairnesse and compliance, and drawing neere to us, and therefore this Apologie is so framed in the words, phrases, and composure of it, that in it you have stretcht your selves to the utmost latitude, and highest compliance with the Church of *England*, and the Reformed Churches, even beyond what is meant by you in our sence, and in common acception, and beyond what manie of your followers will own: As also you hide and reserve severall things you hold both in matter and manner, that so by all this you might court the Parliament, Assemblie, Reformed Churches to beare with such conscientious men, who differ so little from them, and are so moderate and temperate also in and about the debate of those differences, but the Parliament and the Assemblie are wise to see into and thorough these Artifices, and to consider that if once a Toleration were granted, there would quicklie be discovered another face of things, which hitherto stands behind the curtain. As for this passage in the close of this Section, your not being *backward to steere unto a temper not only in things concerning your own consciences, but others also, such as may suit and tend to union as well as searching out of truth, judging this to be as great and usefull an end of Synods, as a curious and exact discussion of all sorts of lesser differences with binding determinations of truth one way.* I judge then you had but a weak ground to urge you to temper in matter of difference, and I question whether you were so forward to a temper in the things that might suit and tend to union, for I suppose you are so far from holding that a great and usefull end of Synods, *a curious and exact discussion of all sorts of lesser differences with binding Determinations of truth one way*, as that you denie it: I have read a letter out of *New-England* from a Minister of note there, speaking of that Synod which met upon occasion of the *Antinomians* and *Familists*, formallie denying this power of binding determinations to it: and in the Epistle before Mr. *Cotton's* late book, Mr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Nye* have manie passages against Assemblies and Sy-

Synods having power of binding Determinations (though a Ministeriall Doctrinall power they grant) and did you give to Synods and Assemblies in all sorts of lesser differences a binding Determination of truth one way, and not oblie of consultation, direction, and at utmost but of Doctrinall Determinant, the controversie would be at an end, and therefore in writing thus, judging that to be at great an end of Synods as this of binding Determinations, and not holding it, you hold neither, and then what tends all this to but to deceive the Reader.

Apolog. *And thus we have nakedly, and with all simplicitie rendred a clear and true account of our wayes and spirits hitherto; Which we made choice of now at first to make our selves known by, rather then by a more exact and Scholastique relation of our Judgments in the points of difference about Church-Government; reserving that unto the more proper season and opportunitie of this Assembly, and thus liberty given by both Honourable Houses in matters of dissent; or as necessity shall after require, to a more publique way of stating and asserting of them. In the mean time, from this brief historicall relation of our practises, there may a true estimate be taken of our opinions in difference, which being instanced in, and set out by practises, is the most reall and least collusive way, and carries its own evidence with it. All which we have taken the boldnesse together with our selves humbly to lay at the feet of your wisdom and piety; Beeseeching you to look upon us under no other Notion, or Character then as those, who if we cannot assume to have been no way furtherers of that Reformation you intend, yet who have been no way hinderers thereof, or disturbers of the publique peace; and who in our Judgments about the present work of this age, the Reformation of Worship and Discipline, do differ as little from the Reformed Churches, and our Brethren, yea far lesse, then they do from what themselves were three years past, or then the generality of this Kingdom from it selfe of late.*

I wonder how you can say, *We have nakedly and with all simplicity rendred a clear and true account of our ways and spirits hitherto*, and for the truth of these lines I appeale to anie indifferent Reader, and to your owne Consciences, upon the review and examination of your booke, and I desire the Reader to remember what all along in my answer I have observed and made good against manie passages both in matters of fact and opinion, and the result will be, that in truth the words may be inverted, instead of *Nakedly*, covertly, instead of *all simplicity*, all subtiltie, instead of *a clear and true account of your wayes and spirits*, a dark, conceal'd, and untrue account, so that your words might have been trulier written, And thus we have covertlie and with all subtiltie rendred a dark, conceal'd and untrue account of our

wayes

wales and Spirits hitherto. As for those words, *which we make choice of now at first to make our selves known by, rather then by a more exact and Scholastique relation of our Judgments*, &c. I answer, it was the speciall hand of God against you and your way, (and I cannot but take speciall notice of it, and desire you would) that you should choose now at first to make your selves known by such an Apologie, and in such a way, rather then by a Scholastique relation of your Judgements. A Scholastique relation would not have made you so knowne as this, neither have discovered your spirits, nor have given that just occasion and necessitie of discovering you, it would not have drawne in so many against you, nor have drawne forth such answers as this. But let me aske you the reason, why chose you this way at first rather then a Scholasticall way, if you would now in the time of the Assemblie have been making your selves knowne in your tenets and opinions, and not have staied till the debating and discussing of them, it had been for the same Reasons best to have printed an *exact and Scholastique relation of your Judgements in the points of difference*, rather then such a popular and Rhetoricall discourse? Can there be any reasons given for it, but that this was wise to raise the people with, to prepare their minds for your way (for feare the Assemblie should conclude against it,) and the more to engage your party to stand for you, (you having thus openly and confidently declared your selves) as also, because you are best at this weapon, more able in a lax discoursing way to expresse your selves, then in a close, pressie, Syllogisticall, Argumentative way, and people are most taken with such kind of discourses, rather then with arguments. As for that you say *of reserving this unto the more proper season, and opportunitie of this Assembly, and that liberty given by both Honourable Houses, in matters of dissent, or as necessity shall after require to a more publique way of stating and asserting of them.* Why could you not as well reserve this *Apologeticall Narration* a little longer as the Scholastique relation of your Judgements, especially having received it so lately? were you in such hast that the Assemblie being upon the borders of the points in difference, nay they being brought in by the Committees to be discussed, you must send out such a discourse to prepare the way for you? did you hope the Assemblie as well as the people would be taken with good words and such flourishes? and since (as you pretend) the ground of your sentence in page 27. (such a one as it was) was that you might reserve your selves for the Assemblie, and let that *bee the stage whereon first you might bring your Tenets into publike view*, why did you goe contrarie, and bring your opinions forth upon the stage of this Apologie to all the world before you brought them to the Assemblie? and so frustrate your owne

owne resolutions, and crosse your owne words in page 27. But before I leave this I cannot but observe that you expresse you will draw up your dissent from the Assemblie in a *Scholastique way* to both Houses, and afterwards publikelie print your grounds: belike you are before hand resolved what to hold, and so are preparing your selves to draw up your grounds for both Houses, you meditate upon dissent and non-agreement, and I perceive the Assemblie must expect to be dealt with by you, as the Synod of *Dort* was by the Arminians, you will be Remonstrants; well you may take your course, and begin when you please, the Assemblie hath members enough able to deale with you at that weapon: As to those words, *In the mean time from this briefe historicall relation of our practises, there may a true estimate be taken of our opinions in difference, which being instanced in and set out by practises, is the most reall and least collusive way and carries in it any evidence with it.* For answer, I propound to the Reader as followes this question of your words: In the mean time from this briefe, generall, partiall, concealed, untrue, historicall relation of your practises, there can be little true estimate taken of your opinions in difference; which being set out by practises but in part, and not the whole, in the bright side, and not the black, is the least reall, without anie evidence in it, but the most collusive way, especiallie with the people, and with such who have not studied the controversies, nor know not the points in difference: But I will shew unto you a more reall way, if you will promise to answer positivelie and plainlie to such questions and positions as I shall draw up for you concerning your Church-way, then there may be an estimate of the opinions in difference, and for requitall of this, I will promise you to answer clearlie and fullie to anie questions both of doctrine, discipline and worship that you can put unto me; As for those words, *All which we have taken the boldnesse together with our selves, humbly to lay at the feet of your wisdome and piety, &c.* I answer, it is a great boldnesse indeed to present such an Apologie to both Houses, *the supreame Judicatory of this Kingdome, which is and hath been in all times the most just and severe tribunall for guiltinesse to appeare before,* wherein besides the questions and controversies so mistated, and so manie doubtfull dark passages, there are manie untrue relations, and I wonder how you durst presume to lay so much follie and indiscretion, with untruth, at the feet of so much wisdome and pietie: had your Apologie been onlie *ad populum*, who are weak, and apt to be deceived, it had been more excusable, but to appeale by such an Apologie to both Houses of Parliament is verie strange, but we may see by this, how far applause and favour with the people, and confidence of successe will carrie men: You have need indeed to beseech the Parliament *to*

look

look upon you under no other notion or character than as those, who if you cannot assume to have been no way furtherers of the Reformation, yet who have been no way hinderers thereof or disturbers of the publike peace. I think your consciences should tell you the Parliament hath reason to look upon you under other notions and characters then you represent your selves by, which (I judge) is the ground of your deprecating the Houses, and indeed I wonder how you can make such a Petition to both Houses, for it is evident you have been no furtherers of that Reformation which the Parliament; or ever any wise State did in anie age intend; but you may assume to have been furtherers of a Reformation for Independent government, and separation, which the Parliament never intended: But whether you have been no way hinderers of the *Reformation intended*, nor *disturbers of the publike peace*, let the things alledged in this answer speake, witnesse gathering of Churches, witnesse the tumults that have been in streets upon some of your private meetings, witnesse the disturbance of the publike peace in some Churches upon your preaching, and particularly if the delaying the work of Reformation, and setling Church-government be some way an hinderance to it, and an occasion of disturbing *the publike peace*, then you five have not been the least nor last in some way hindering Reformation, and disturbing the publike peace. And brethren what is the great thing that letteth, and will let but you five? I am confident had it not been for you five, and a few more, the Reformation intended, and the publike peace of the Church had been in a far fairer way then now it is. Brethren there are many complaints, and that by your dear friends of retarding the work of Reformation by your means, you are the *Remora* to the Ship under Sailes, you are the spokes in the wheeles of the Chariot of Reformation; Parliament complaines, Assembly, City, Countrie, all complain of the work retarded, and all is resolved into you five principallie: I could tell you many particular passages, but you know what I mean; In a word all the Prelates and the Papists cannot, nor do not so much hinder the work of Reformation as you five members of the Assemblie, and the Lord in mercie work so, that by occasion of you, and by means of your principles, and manie persons of your Church-way, there do not rise up another great mountain before *Zerubbabel*, to hinder the laying the headstone of that building, the foundation whereof is layed. As for your differing so little in your *judgments about the present work of this age, Reformation of worship and discipline from the Reformed Churches and your brethren, &c.* I answer, if so be that you differ so little from the Reformed Churches, and your brethren, *you far lesse then they do from what themselves were three years past*, why do you not then incorporate with us? why will you, or how can you answer it to God

for that to make a rent? and to desire to have Churches of your own way, and to be an occasion of so much evill, as that would prove to this Church? the smaller the difference is the greater is the schisme and separation, for the lesse the cause of a separation is, the greater the fault is in those that make it. Are we come so far to you so many miles, (as you imply in those words, *from what themselves were three years past*,) and will not you come a step or two to us for union and peace, and to heale that great schisme, with manie other inconveniences: We have and are comming (blessed be God) a great way to Church reformation and worship, but the points that you would have us come to you in, besides that they are Apocripha not to be found in Scripture, we cannot being a Nation and Kingdome come to you in your way, your Independent government and particular gathered Churches cannot stand with a Nationall Reformation, as some of your way have confessed; and therefore would have but a toleration for themselves, but you may come to our Reformation easilie; though a Nation cannot be contained in a few, yet a few may well in a Nation, besides if you by your confessions differ *far lesse from us then what we did from our selves three years past*, why will you for all that great difference in us then, and now, and what need have you to go make new separated Churches from whom you far lesse differ, but what ever you say here of your small difference between you and the Reformed Churches and us, the more to work with the Parliament for a toleration in some lesser differences, yet the differences, are held by you to be greater and more materiall, or else you would close with us so reforming; and among other particulars you differ more from your brethren then your brethren from *themselves three years past*, your brethren being of one Church both then and now, but you and your brethren being of two distinct Churches and communions, you setting up new because you cannot continue in the old with them, and certainlie men of one and the same Church and communion differ lesse among themselves, then persons of a Church and communion set up against that Church, but least from this passage your followers should make use to tax the Ministers of our Church who have desired Reformation with inconstancie, and going according to the times, and your selves make use of it to defend your running so far in your way, the Ministers differing far more *from themselves within this three years past than you are from them*, I must propound this to prevent those consequences, namelie that most of your brethren both of the Assemblie, and of other parts of the Kingdome, differ little from themselves in judgment from what they held three years past, or many years past, namelie might they have had their desire, and could their votes have carried it, they would have voted out Cere-

monies

monies, government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. this Lyturgie and Service book, and though they now practise not many things they did before, but forbear, yet some things are forborne as being matter of offence among the people, and other things as having been an occasion of much hurt in the Church, and now there being so open a doore for a full Reformation they do labour after the best, and follow what they judge most for edification now, not condemning all their former practises (especially considering those times) unlawfull and sinfull.

Apolog. *And withall to consider us as those, who in these former times, for many years suffered even to exile, for what the Kingdome it selfe now suffers in the endeavour to cast out, and who in these present times, and since the change of them, have endured (that which to our spirits is no lesse grievous) the opposition and reproach of good men, even to the threatning of another banishment, and have been through the grace of God upon us, the same men in both, in the midst of these varieties; And finally, as those that do pursue no other interest or designe but a subsistance (be it the poorest and meanest) in our own Land (where we have and may doe further service, and which is our birth-right as we are men) with the enjoyment of the ordinances of Christ (which are our portion as we are Christians) with the allowance of a latitude to some lesser differences with peaceablenesse, as not knowing where else with safety, health and livelihood, to set our feet on earth.*

For my part I wonder with what face you can write this, *And withall to consider us as those who in these former times, for many yeares suffered even to exile*, and bring it as an argument to the Parliament to consider you the more, namely to grant you a Toleration. All the answer I shall returne is, that the Parliament and Kingdome shall and may do well to looke upon you, and consider you instead of *many yeares suffering even to exile*, as men who voluntarily went into another Countrey nigh at hand, to live safely out of gun-shot, and there lived richly, plentifullie and freely, whilst other godly Ministers lived here in continuall feares, dangers, tossings, suspensions, attachments and consumptions of their estates: It is strange that men should be so farre partiall, as to frame an argument, and make account the more to be considered and favoured for flying away, and deserting the Cause in the open field: Suppose some Captaines and Souldiers in the Parliaments service should put up a Petition to the Houses, forasmuch as they left the rest of the Armie in distresse, and withdrew in the day of battaile, and never returned til the enemy was put to the worst, and the battell turned, therefore they would be pleased to afford them an exemption from common taxes, &c. and

vouchsafe them some speciall priviledge, what would you think of such a motion? the application is obvious, you deserted the Cause, and in as much as in you lay hazarded all, and yet are not content with this, to come in upon the victorie, and divide the spoiles with those who helped to win the field, to enjoy the prime Lectures and places in and neare the Citie, both of note and profit, with all respect and countenance, from Parliament and Citie, but you would have Peculiars, and enjoy such a way as should shut out all in comparison, an unreasonable request, and a strange instance for all posteritie if it should be granted: For our parts manie of us who bore the heate of the day, stood to it and ventured breaking and undoing manie times over, requeste no such favour nor exemption, but to take our lot in common with the Kingdome and Ministers in things established; and I know no reason that upon anie considerations either extrinsicall or intrinsicall you should be considered above the godlie Ministers of the Church of *England*: I know and could give manie to the contrarie, but besides that I have before fullie spoken (more then once) how little there is in this argument of yours so often inculcated of *exile*, and *suffering to exile*, the cause here rendred by you of your suffering *even to exile*, namelie *for what the Kingdome it selfe now suffers in the endeavour to cast out*, is not true, nor proper: For however the Kingdome now suffers for casting out the Hierarchie, and some corruptions in worship, and for a Reformation according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches, yet your suffering unto exile was not for that (for which the non-conformists more forward then you suffered) but your leaving the Kingdome was to enjoy the Church-way, without which (we suppose) you will not be contented, though Ceremonies, Episcopacie and Lyturgie be now cast out by the Kingdome, as the fruit of all their sufferings, but if Presbyterie be setled, and Independencie may not be tolerated, you will go away the second time and may be call that *exile* and *banishment* too: As for your *enduring in these present times and since the change of them, that which to your spirits is no lesse grievous, the opposition and reproach of good men*, by which you would further perswade and move the Parliament to allow you a Toleration, let me mind you that I believe in no age five men practising, and acting as you have done contrarie to the Judgment of all the Churches, and of the Ministers your brethren, and that to the sensible disadvantage of the publique Reformation, ever met with lesse *opposition* and contradiction of good men, and as for reproach none at all: I will not reiterate what I have formerly expressed in *pag.* 226, 227. but it is beyond all president the silence, compliance, respects, faire carriage you have been entertained with from the Ministers, and good men, neither *Luther* that eminent

servant

ſervant of God and excellent Inſtrument, nor others could find the like in their time from the Miniſters differing from them, and therefore the complaint is very groundleſſe, and to ſpeake truth, you were ſo much the people Darlings and Favourites having ſuch a power both with the people, and with many in place, that not to oppoſe or reproach your perſons, but your opinions, and that but collaterally and interpretatively was enough to unſaint many men as good as your ſelves, and to blaſt them with manie for the preſent; As for that compariſon, the *oppoſition and reproach* of good men as grievous to *your ſpirits* as ſuffring Exile, I conclude your Exile was very gentle then, and I judge both much alike grievous, that is neither; but what tender ſpirits have you? and what conſtitution are you made of? that a little oppoſition, and reproach of good men (eſpecially having with it ſo great applauſe, and high eſteem to over-ballance it) ſhould be ſo grievous to your ſpirits as *many years ſuffring even unto exile*: Many of us have and do endure great oppoſitions, reproaches, revilings, and ſcornes from thoſe who would be thought not only good, but the beſt men, with many neglects, ſleightings, deſertings, and ingratitude, from whom we had all reaſon to have expected the contrary, and all this in the ſhade without anie one beame of ſpeciall favour ſhining upon us (which though we could not but ſee, and take notice of all along, and cannot but upon this occaſion upbraid the unthankfulneſſe of many people, leaving all to God to clear our righteouſneſſe, and to convince them) yet we have made no complaints to the world, nor written *Apologies* for our ſelves, but through the grace of Chriſt have in patience poſſeſsed our ſoules without much grievouſneſſe to our ſpirits, our Conſciences within us witneſſing we have ſuffred all this for our faithfulneſſe to God and to his people, and for no other cauſe given to them; and if *oppoſition and reproach from good men be no leſſe grievous then Exile*, ſome of us who have been Anti-Independent have ſuffered a ſore *Exile* more yeares then you the *Apologiſts*: For beſides our reproaches during the time of your Exile in *Holland*, we have ſince your returne from Exile even to this preſent day ſuffered many reproaches, and loſt all manner of wayes, in name, eſtate, and friends, for nothing elſe but for appearing againſt the *Brownifts* and *Independents*, and how much in the mean time moſt of you have gained all manner of wayes is written with a ſun-beam: But what is this *oppoſition and reproach from good men*, you have endured *no leſſe grievous then an Exile for many yeares*: you ſay *even the threatning of another baniſhment*: Is the threatning of another baniſhment ſo grievous a matter, that you here preſent it to both Houſes, as a motive to perſwade the Parliament to grant you a Toleration? *Threatned folks* (they ſay) *live long*,

and so may you, you are not yet banished, nor used as men likelie to be banished; besides, the good men that threatned it had no power to perform it. Banishment belongs not to them, I can hardlie believe it that such high and confident men as you are should be so troubled with threats, (especiallie from men in whose power it lies not,) but you are willing to make anie thing an argument to both Houses to consider you in that point: If one or both *Houses* had threatned you banishment, that might have been as grievous to you as your former Exile, but for anie of your fellow-Ministers you might have threatned them againe, and have stood upon equall terms; I know in some cases, and could name how some of you have done it, and when words have been spoken to you about your opinions by some Ministers, you have given as good as was brought you, and have bid them do their worst, you doubted not but by your friends to make your part good, and that you had as manie for your way, as they. But for my part, I do not remember anie good men who have threatned you with another banishment, some may in reasoning with you have argued against a Toleration of your Independent-Government, and if you will from thence by consequences say they threatned you *banishment*, I judge this is farre fetched; For my book which (may be) is partlie aimed at in this as well as in other passages of your *Apology*, I can clear it that I threatned you not with banishment, but laboured to satisfie you how you might enjoy your consciences in your owne land, and did lay down a *Medium* between banishment and a Toleration: As for that which you say of your selves, that you *have been through the grace of God upon you, the same men in both in the midst of these varieties*: I answer, if you were the same men in your Exile as you have been since your return into the Kingdom, you have no great reason to boast of it, nor to present it to the Houses as a Motive to be the more considered of, for most of you have been in *England* verie high and peremptorie, and your owne *Apology* with this *Antapology* gives a full Character of your carriage here, so that I may turn these words thus, *we have been through the corruptions in us, the same men in Holland and England, in the midst of these varieties*, namelie seeking our selves and our owne particular ends too much, yea too high, confident and peremptorie in our way; As for the close of your *Apologie*, in the last nine lines, *And finally, as those that do pursue no other interest nor design, but a subsistance (be it the poorest and meanest) in our own land*, &c. You come in this to that which was first in your Intention, though brought in last for a Conclusion, on purpose to leave a deeper impression in the Parliament at the close of all, namely, that the Houses would grant you a Toleration of your Independent Churches expressed in these soft and faire words, *the allowance of a latitude*

to some lesser differences with peaceablenesse, which Toleration is ushered in, compassed about, and cloied up with what may be most likelie to take namely summing up what is past, all your sufferings and patience in Exile, reproaches &c. with your doings for Reformation, and being the same men in all conditions, and what is yet to come, laying all together to draw both Houses towards you, and to worke the people of the Kingdom to stand the more for you: Now for answer to this close of your *Apology*, as containing the end and aime of your writing it, I will first examine the Arguments and expressions brought by you to effect your end, to perswade the Houses, and secondlie, speak to the thing and matter, namelie the Toleration of Independent Churches and Government in this Kingdome.

For the first I answer, what you may do for the future, whether you will *pursue no other Interest nor design in this Kingdome but a subsistance, be it the poorest and meanest*, I will not prophecie, but if we may argue from what you have done, and what yet you do, then there is great cause of feare you will pursue other Interest and designs: for you have and doe pursue the design of increasing your partie, and spreading your way as the onlie way of God, else why have you preached and done so much for it? neither can I believe you are so low-spirited and so carelesse as to look out after no other interest but a poore subsistance in this Kingdome, what have you not the design and interest of setting up Christs Kingdom and pure Ordinances in the midst of us? I professe for my self and brethren that we have greater interests and designs in our seeking Reformation, then a subsistance in our own Land (though it might be never so full and plentifull) namelie the glorie of God, the advancement of the Kingdome of Christ, the opportunities of doing more service: And as for *a subsistance be it the poorest and meanest*, I appeale to the Conscience of the Reader whether that be likelie, have you contented your selves with a poor and meane condition hitherto? have you lived in a poor rank, preaching in poor and meane Congregations, or have you not rather affected it, bearing a higher stile, and carrying a greater port then most of the Godlie Ministers in Citie or Countrey? have not some of you the prime Lectures of the Citie, and other good places of advantage and profit (besides what some of you have from your own Churches,) could not you have been contented to have added more places, and can anie who know you or what height you live, and what *Grandees* of the times you are, and how much you appeare in publike in the chief places of resort, and have insinuated into so manie great men, believe that you would live contented with a subsistance (be it the poorest and meanest?) let them believe you who will, for my part I am not satisfied in the truth of it, but do suspect that if the

Parliament

Parliament should make an offer to you to this purpose you would refuse it. You say you pursue no other Interest or designe, but a subsistance (be it the poorest and meanest) in your owne land, well, you sire shall have your Church-way, and enjoy Congregations in such a remote corner of the Kingdome, provided you shall not have above fiftie pounds a yeir, nor above fiftie persons to each Church, you shall add none from anie other Congregations of the Kingdome, nor admit anie of other Congregations to come to hear you, nor never preach in anie of our Churches, anie of our Church-Principles, nor speak of them in private, to anie but your owne members, would this satisfie you? in your Reply give a positive and cleare answer. As for that you say, *where we have and may do further service*. I answer, before you fell into this new Church-way, you did God service, but since you have done more disservice then ever service, and if God be pleased to bring you back into the fellowship of this Church, and to joyne in this Reformation, to grow up into one bodie, you may do him further service; otherwise in the way of a Toleration which you aime at, you will do more hurt then you can do good in this Kingdome (yea though you had the tongues and parts of Angels.) As for those words, *a subsistance in the Land which is our birth-right as we are men, and the injoyment of the Ordinances of Christ our portion, as we are Christians*; I answer, a subsistance in the land according to the Lawes established is your birth-right, but not otherwise; besides, the denial of a Toleration of your Churches doth not denie you a subsistance in the land, but you may subsist if you please, though no Toleration. But supposing you may not have what you please, & thereupon you will remove to other Kingdomes, that is your fault, and not the States; when a Father or Master lets their children and servants have what is good and fitting, but denies to let them doe what they list, and refuses to grant what would hurt them, if the children and servants will goe away, and put themselves upon inconveniences to have their minds and wills elsewhere, it is not the parents and masters fault, but the children and servants; so men will punish themselves with Exile, because they cannot have their will, they can blame none but themselves. And as for the enjoyment of the Ordinances of Christ, which you say are your *portion as you are Christians*, then they are your portion not as Church-members, but as Christians, and why then do you keep away many good Christians from them, for want of being Church-members after your way; but let me tell you, though the Ordinances of Christ be the portion of Christians, yet not in what way and dresse soever they will have them, for so the Papists may plead to enjoy them in their way, and the Anabaptists in their way, but they are the portion

tion of Christians so as to enjoy them according to the word of God in the publike Assemblies, and not in a schismaticall way, and so may you enjoy among us publike ordinances in the publike Assemblies, but to forsake the publike Assemblies and draw away others with you, and to set up a wall of separation between you and the Reformed Churches, this is not your portions as you are Christians, but it is against Christianity, and is your sin and schisme. As for that *allowance of a latitude to some lesser differences with peaceablenesse*, you need not doubt that, so far as will stand with peaceableneſse; that is, so farre as not to urge subscriptions upon you to all the points of government and order, nor to cast you out from preaching amongst us though you may be of a different judgment in some lesser matters (especiallie so long as you keep your judgments to your selves, and preach not contrary to what is established to make factions and parties:) But if you meane by *the allowance of a latitude to some lesser differences*, that you and others may have free leave to set up separated Congregations, and go and receive into your Churches whom you please, and governe Independently in a different forme of government from the government established, I must tell you this ought not to be granted, as being inconsistent with peace and truth, and would be a perpetuall root and source of many bitter divisions, errours and mischiefes in this Kingdome: As for your last words of all, *not knowing where else with safety, health and livelihood to set your feet on earth*, that seemes strange to me, do none of the English Ministers who live in other parts of the World, as in *Holland*, *New-England* and other places enjoy safety, health and livelihood, are these things confined and tied only to *England*? did not most of you enjoy all these abroad? livelihood is confessed in your Apologie, *a full and liberall maintenance annually*; safety you went over for, and found; and as for health, some of your way have commended *Arnheim* you lived at, to be like *Hartford* and *Bury* in *Suffolke*, and one of you *Roterdam* to be as good, if not better then *London*; which places for health are sufficiently knowne. And however all these things of *no other interest but a subsistance in our own land, and of enjoying the ordinances of Christ, and not knowing where else with safety, health and livelihood to set our feet on earth*, be held forth as specious pretences to the Parliament and Reader to persuade and to allure them, yet the bottome of all this desire of a toleration in *England* (though conceal'd) is that there is no other place on earth, where you are like to propagate your way, to gain so great a party, to enjoy such full and rich Congregations, and to have that respect and applause in your way as in *England*, and in *England* as *London* and the adjacent parts, or where you can have those faire hopes and probabilities of drawing so great a part of a

Kingdome to your Church-way as here; and where if you go on to act as diligently and politickly as you have done in these three years last past, and the Ministers be as generallie silent, and the common people of the Kingdom come a little more to understand your principles, and have time to digest and consider of the great liberty and power they have thereby, the rest of the Kingdome may in time come to be beholding to you for a toleration of Presbyterie (if it be established) (which you will as soon grant, if you come to have power in your hands, as you will Episcopacie and Popery,) many of your Church-way ordinarily affirming they had rather have Episcopacie then Presbyterie; and it hath been affirmed to me by a Minister of note, that a Minister of the Church-way preferred Popery in this Kingdome before Presbyterie, for if Poperie should come in, it would be but short lived, but Presbyterie was like to be long lived. The Arminians in the *Netherlands* at first desired but a Toleration, no more but to be permitted to enjoy in some Churches of their own their consciences with peaceablenesse, but afterwards that by the connivance and favour of the Magistrates, they were in some Cities and places (as *Amsterdam, &c.*) grown to a great number, and had a great power, then they would not suffer nor tolerate the Orthodox Ministers, but persecuted them, and some were forced to flie (as in the stories of the *Netherlands* is at large recorded:) And if ever the Independents by connivance or a toleration should come to have a power and strength considerable, if they serve not us so, I am much deceived: All Sectaries and erroneous spirits who are but tolerated, and not owned, will watch all advantages to set up their own way as chiefe, and when they have a power, will be impetuous and violent to affect it, as the *Anabaptists* in *Germanie* were, the Arminians in *Holland*, and the Antinomians and Familists in *New-England*: As women out of their weaknesse and feare when they have power over any, are most cruell, so Sectaries out of their feare least a State may one time or other cast them out and not tolerate them, will upon an advantage suppresse and destroy the Orthodox, and stablish their own.

2. As for the matter it selfe contained in the close of your book, a Toleration of Independent Churches and government, the scope and last end of this Apologie, whereunto tends all the artifice and fallacies in the composure of it, I shall lay down some Reasons and grounds against it: I cannot stand to handle the question at large about Toleration of different Religions, or of divers Sects and opinions in one and the same Kingdome, (this answer being already a great deale longer then I intended it.) I cannot now open the tearmes and premise the distinctions, as distinguishing concerning the nature and kind of errors, concerning the persons erring, concerning the

kind

kinds and degrees of Toleration and coaction, *&c.* I ſhall reſerve the full handling of this point, whether toleration be lawfull, to a particular Tractate I intend upon that ſubject: In the mean time upon occaſion of what you preſent here to the Parliament, I ſhall humbly ſubmit to their conſiderations theſe following particulars.

1. *Reaſon* A Toleration of Independent Churches and government with their opinions and practiſe, is againſt the Magiſtrates duty laid down in Scripture; but for Magiſtrates by good lawes to command and require obedience to the government and Reformation, upon good grounds judged to be according to the Word of God, and ſo eſtabliſhed, is lawfull and their duties: For the clearing of which I premiſe two things, which I ſuppoſe muſt needs be granted. 1. That the Magiſtrate is *cuſtos ac vindex utriuſq; Tabulæ*, (as is confeſſed by all Orthodox Divines,) that the care of Religion belongs to him, and that he is to look to it that the Church of God and the Government of it be conſtituted & ſetled according to the Word, and that the people may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all godlineſſe and honeſty, for which end Princes and Magiſtrates are to make Lawes for the obſerving of the Worſhip and Government of Chriſts Church, forbidding and puniſhing with religious ſeverity thoſe things which are practiſed againſt the Word of God, but commanding what is according to it, this is one of the great ſervices they yeeld to Chriſt as they are Magiſtrates; and I find *Auguſtine* and other Divines, giving that ſenſe of *Pſal.*2.10.11. of *Kings and Judges ſerving the Lord with feare*, and of *Deut.*17. 19. of God commanding *the King to read the booke of the Law, that he may learn to obſerve the things which are written in it*, not onely as private men practiſing theſe and ordering their lives according to the Word, but as Kings they ſhould order their Office by the Word, not onely by living holily (for ſo they ſerve God as men) but as Kings and Magiſtrates by making Lawes for the Worſhip of God, and prohibiting the contrary. 2. That the Reformation in Worſhip, Government, &c. which ſhall be ſetled and eſtabliſhed by the Parliament is judged and taken for granted by them to be according to the mind of Chriſt, elſe why have they called ſo many able, godly and learned Divines to conſult with for that purpoſe, and ſtood ſo much for a Reformation according to the Word? and why elſe will they eſtabliſh it, if there be any other more agreeable to the Word? ſo that whatſoever other government after all debates and reaſonings is rejected and refuſed, muſt be thought not to have ſuch a ground in the Word, for if it had, why was it not eſtabliſhed and owned, but comes to ſeek for a Toleration and Connivance? Now then

Beza Confeſſ Fid. cap.5. de Eccleſia ſect. 44. de Chriſtiani Magiſtratus officio.

by vertue of many Scriptures both in the old and new Testament, the Examples of the Kings of Judah in commanding and requiring all the people to yeeld to the Reformations made by them (and in particular the Spirit of God commending *Josiah* for making all Jerusalem and *Benjamin* to stand to the Covenant which he had made with God) the fourth Commandement requiring of the Father of the Family, that he see all under his power and charge to worship God (upon which learned Divines (as *Zanchius*) excellently show the duty of Magistrates in reference to commanding and providing that their people shall worship God according to his will) *Rom.* 13. 4. *Ephes.* 5. 11. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. 2 *John* 11. v. *Revel.* 2. 20. with many other places in Scripture of removing away of evill, and of not consenting to evill, &c. the Parliament is bound to establish, and to command obedience to that Reformation which is judged most agreeable to the Word, and to suppresse and hinder all other: It was excellently done by the Parliament to call together so many able, godly, and Orthodox Divines to debate and find out the mind and will of God, for Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, and to give liberty to men of different judgments, to bring in their grounds, and after all waies of enquirie and searching into truth, and a Modell drawn up for them upon good grounds being satisfied, 'tis their duty by their power and authority to bind men to the decrees of the Assembly; and not to tolerate any other Doctrines, Churches, Worship or Government to be set up and exercised; you ought not to suffer the weake to be destroyed, nor the people to be drawn away by everie wind of doctrine, but when once upon good grounds the Reformation is concluded, you must defend it against troublesome and turbulent spirits, and in so doing God will be with you, and subdue the people under you, whereas if to please some people you suffer them to enjoy their own way, God will not be well pleased with it, neither can you answer it unto God: You may lawfullie, nay ye ought in that which is good to compell men (though they pretend conscience) shall the errors of other mens consciences hinder you from yeelding that service which God requireth of you? may a Parliament displease God to please men? or may they be partakers of other mens sins, and wink at evill to content some persons? No, Parliaments in making lawes for Religion must depend on the will of God revealed in his Word in the best and likeliest waies commmunicated to them, and not upon the consciences of some people.

2 *Chron.* 34. 31. 32.

2. *Reason*, The Toleration desired is against the solemne League and Covenant for Reformation, taken by the Parliament, and the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, and so cannot be condiscended to without breach of that Oath and Covenant, so that the Apologie and motion for a Toleration comes

too

too late, the doore is ſhut againſt it, the Kingdomes hands are bound, ſo that if ſuch a Toleration were not in its ſelfe unlawfull, and againſt the duty of the Magiſtrate, yet now becauſe of the Oath and Covenant 'tis unlawfull, ſo that whatever might have been granted before, cannot now, leſt the Kingdome ſhould be guilty before God of Covenant-breaking: Now a Toleration, and this moving for a Toleration by the Apologiſts is expreſſie againſt theſe branches of the Covenant: 1. Againſt that clauſe in the firſt branch of *endeavouring the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of England and Ireland in doctrine, Worſhip, Government and Diſcipline, according to the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches*; now in this Petition to both Houſes you would be exempted from the Reformation of the beſt Reformed Churches, ſo that unleſſe you underſtand the Browniſts, *New-England*, or your own Churches to be the beſt Reformed, you have broken your Covenant, but though you may underſtand it ſo, and may be took the Covenant in that ſenſe, yet I ſuppoſe you cannot think the Parliament (whom you ſue to for a Toleration) took the beſt Reformed Churches in that acception, but for the Reformed Churches ſo called and commonly known, as of *France*, &c. ſo that their granting a Toleration would be againſt this clauſe of the beſt Reformed Churches. 2. Tis expreſſie againſt another clauſe in the firſt branch: *And ſhall endeavor to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to the neereſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, Forme of Church Government, Directory for Worſhip and Catechiſing*: Now if the Parliament hath covenanted ſo, how can it grant a Toleration of ſo different a Forme of Church-Government and Worſhip, as the Independent way is from the Presbyteriall? and how can you be excuſed from explicite formall breach of Covenant in this part of your Apologie, having ſworne and ſubſcribed to endeavour by all meanes to bring the Churches of God in theſe three Kingdomes to the neereſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, who inſtead of ſo labouring and endeavouring, or ever ſo much as trying whether you with the reſt of the Churches may not be brought into a neer Conjunction and Uniformity, juſt before the time the Aſſembly was comming to fall upon theſe points in difference, to put out this Apologie, and to move for a Toleration, before hearing what could be ſaid to you for ſatisfaction, or ever debating the points in the Aſſembly: *Is this to endeavour by all meanes to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to the neereſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, &c.* before ſo much as ever debating points to conclude magiſterially (as you do in *pages* 22. and 24.) againſt the Reformed Churches, and to deſire an exemption from Conjunction and Uniformity with the reſt of the Churches in this Kingdome. 3. Tis againſt that clauſe in

in the second branch, *that we shall in like manner without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of schisme, and whatever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine and the power of Godlinesse, lest we partake in other mens sins.* Now that which you move for is schisme and contrary to sound Doctrine, the Church-way being a schisme, besides manie of your Church-Principles are against sound Doctrine, and the power of Godlinesse, as that in your Apologie about the subject of Excommunication, as that of a few people having power to joyn together, and set up a Church and chuse what Ministers they will, as that of the Independencie of particular Congregations from anie *Authoritative power*, &c. so that the Parliament in the midst of their Reformation and blessed Coujunction according to the Word of God with the Reformed Churches, should in allowing you a Toleration suffer a formall schisme, both in Worship and Government in the midst of these Kingdomes. 4. This toleration sued for is against a part of the fourth branch, endeavouring *the discovery of such as have been evill Instruments by hindring Reformation of Religion, or making any faction or parties amongst the people contrary to this League and Covenant:* Now the Parliament is bound by this against all persons and things which hinder the Reformation, and makes anie faction or parties amongst the people: now whether a Toleration granted, yea but moved for would not hinder the Reformation of Religion, and make Faction and Parties amongst the people, let it be considered: I confesse I wonder how the Apologists ever took this Covenant, or having taken it, that they should ever dream more of a Toleration, or thinke it possible the Parliament should grant it, the Covenant being so direct against a Toleration: Manie of the Church-way and Communion have and doe apprehend all this, that taking the Covenant and a Toleration of Independencie cannot stand together, and thereupon there are Ministers and people of that way had not taken it (whatever they may of late.) I have been told from a good hand, that some of the Apologists had much adoe to bring themselves to take it, and that it was a bitter pill to get down, and one of some quality assured me that M. *Nye* told him in *Scotland*, that when the Covenant had passed there, and was to be sent for *England*, he writ with all earnestnesse, and possible Conjurements to M. *Goodwin*, and M. *Bridge*, &c. not to oppose it, or be against it, as much fearing how it would go downe. To conclude this Reason, For the Parliament to allow such a latitude as a Toleration, it would be against the solemne Covenant: For the Ministers to be silent, and not to witnesse against such a Toleration desired would be in them a breach of the Covenant, and therefore in respect to the Covenant I have taken, I here witnesse against Tolerations of different Sects and Churches:

The people by vertue of their Covenant are by all waies and means in their places and callings engaged to oppoſe ſuch a Toleration, by their prayers to God againſt it, &c. Laſtly our Brethren of *Scotland* are engaged with all their power and might in their places to oppoſe it: Now the Apologiſts in petitioning for a Toleration have not only broken the Covenant themſelves, but they endeavour by all their wit and art in this Apologie to bring the Parliament and Kingdome into ſo great a guilt as the breach of this ſolemne Covenant.

3. *Reaſon.* A Toleration is againſt the nature of Reformation, a Reformation and a Toleration are diametrically oppoſite; The commands of God given in his Word for Reformation, with the Examples of Reforming Governours Civill and Eccleſiaſticall, do not admit of a Toleration, how many things might be produced out of ſome Sermons and Lectures of the Apologiſts concerning the nature of Reformation, and of the Magiſtrates duty in Reformation, which croſſe and thwart Tolerations? and if the conſciences of ſome men being ſatisfied muſt be a diſpenſation againſt removing ſuch a thing or commanding ſuch a thing, there will never be no perfect nor thorough Reformation, for what generall Reformation can there be but will be againſt many mens conſciences? the taking away of what men have long enjoyed, and the bringing in of quite other things will trouble many conſciences, and if Magiſtrates or Miniſters may not ſettle things contrary to the conſciences of many, but tolerate and allow them wherein they plead Conſcience, they ſhall never do Gods work: In King *Edwards* and Queene *Elizabeths* Reformations, how was it againſt the conſciences of many; taking away the Maſſe, Confeſſion to the Prieſt, bringing in the Common-Prayer Book: In this preſent Reformation, how much is it againſt many mens conſciences, the taking away the Government of the Church by Biſhops, the preſent Lyturgie and eſtabliſhing another Government and Form of publike Worſhip, who if they might be allowed a Toleration would not admit a Reformation, muſt not the Aſſembly and Parliament proceed therefore in the worke of Reformation, becauſe all mens conſciences are not ſatisfied? If this Principle were one given way to, that nothing might be removed, nor nothing brought in which offends conſciences, but in ſuch a caſe perſons muſt have a liberty and Toleration, men would ſtill pretend conſcience, and ſo nothing to purpoſe ſhould ever be reformed publiquely, and all the Scripture ſpeakes of Nationall and Generall Reformation by way of commanding and commending, it ſhould be juſt nothing, depending meerly upon Tolerations, that is; there ſhall be a Reformation unleſſe men

deſire

desire a Toleration, and the upshot of all will be this, that so manie of such a mind shall enjoy their way, and so manie of another mind their way, &c. and they who will yeeld to the Reformation by *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* may, were there ever such Reformations read of in the Scriptures?

4. *Reason.* A Toleration of men in their errors, this pretended Liberty of conscience, is against the judgment of the greatest lights in the Church both ancient and moderne. I might out of Ecclesiasticall Histories, as *Theodoret*, &c. relate the praises of those Emperours, *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, &c. who would not suffer the meetings of the Heretiques, but did by positive Lawes amerce and banish them, as also the brands and blemishes cast upon those Emperors who suffered the Arrians and other Heretiques: I might out of *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, *Calvin*, *Philip Melanthon*, *Peter Martyr*, *Zanchius*, *Musculus*, *Bullinger*, bring many sentences against Tolerations, and leaving men to the liberty of their owne consciences, and how by Lawes and Discipline Magistrates may command obedience to the Worship of God established, and to return into the Unity of the Church: But out of many I will give you the judgement of two, *Augustine*, and *Beza*: *Augustine* in his Epistle to *Vincentius*, writes to this purpose, declaring to him, though he was sometimes of that opinion, that erroneous men should not be dealt with by force but onelie by the Word of God, yet now by the arguments of others, and by the visible examples of many being reduced from errors by that meanes, he had changed his judgement, and that therefore the Lawes of Princes might be lawfully made use of against errors. And for this coactive power, he brings many grounds in that Epistle, and he speaks thus: *If we tolerate men in their errours, and nothing be thought upon or done by us which may be likely to terrifie and recover them, we shall truly render evill for evill: If men be compelled and terrified, but not instructed, this is a tyrannizing over them, but again, if they be taught and not feared, they will move the slower to goe in the way of life, not every one who spares is a Friend, nor every one who chastiseth is an Enemy: And dost thou thinke no force is to be used to a man that hee may be delivered from the pernicionsnesse of his errour, when as wee know God himselfe doth so in many Examples*, and speaking on that point, he saith, *it must not be so much considered that a man is compelled, as what that is to which hee is compelled*: In this Epistle the Father answers some objections brought against compelling men, as that this does no good to some, as that this is persecution,

Epist 48. Augustinus Vincentio haeresi Rogatiana docens se fuisse aliquando ejus sententia ut arbitraretur cum haereticis nulla vi, sed sola Dei verbo agendum, postea aliorum sententiis & exemplis superatum mutasse sententiam.

perfecution, as that these Heretiques would not do so, &c. so he writes in his a 50. Epistle to *Boniface*, and in his a 204. Epist. to *Donatus* upon the same subject; And b in his Retractations, he retracts this errour which he sometimes held, and had writ of, *that it did not please him that schismaticks should be compelled and forced to Communion by the force of any secular power*, and gives his reason there of the change of his judgment from what he formerly held, because now he had experience *how much evill the Toleration and suffering of them did, as also how much the diligence of Discipline would conferre to the making of them better.* c *Beza* in his Epistles and other writings speaks much against Tolerations and the libertie of Conscience pleaded for, and answers to that, whether liberty of Conscience is to be permitted? *No, as this libertie is understood, that is, that every man may worship God after what manner he will himself. For this is a meer diabolicall opinion, That every one is to be suffered that if he will he may perish.* And in the same Epistle he saith of Tolerations, *This is that diabolicall liberty which hath filled Polonia and Transylvania with so many plagues of opinions, which otherwise else no countries under the Sun would have tolerated.* And in his Epistle he tels him to whom he writes, *that which I perceive you call liberty of conscience, but I on every side call an open destruction and ruine:* So in this Confession of Faith under that head of the office of the Christian Magistrate he speakes thus. f *His office is to preserve the publike peace and quietnesse: now whereas Worship of God must flourish in the first place, from whence flowes all happinesse, it followes that nothing ought to be more looked to by the Christian Magistrate, then to have the Church ordered according to the rule of Gods Word, whose authoritie they may defend and vindicate against all contemners and disturbers: neither are they here to be hearkned unto who under the maske and colour of false pitie and mercy, and not only by vain & foolish arguments,*

a *Augustinus Bonifacio vino militari de Coercendis Donatistis, scribit: Illi Donatistarum, haereticos sibi libertatem vanissimam tuae Ariani, & quia nec certus locus per totum Imperium illorum patet, ipsi pessimi ad ecclesiam sectandam trahuntur.* b *Augustinus Donato presbytero Donatista, qui vehementer ad concilium coactum sit sibi non injuste, sanctae matris haereticos reprimentis decreta praevalere, non solum eorum vellet esse ad se illata.* c *Augustinus Retract. lib. 2. cap. 5. Quod verissime mihi non placebat, quia secundum experimenta quae vel quantum mali eorum audentia impunita, vel quantum in unitate mutandis conferre possit Disciplina.*

c *Nunquam ut hac quidem libertas intelligitur, id est, ut quisque quovis modo velit Deum colat. Est enim haec mera diabolica opinio, Sinendum esse unumquemque ut sibi interpretetur, &c. ita est diabolica libertas quae Poloniam & Transylvaniam hodie tot pestium implevit, quam nulla aliaque sub sole regiones tolerarunt. Beza epist. primae Bezae epist. 32.*

d *Beza Confess. Fid. de Eccl. pa. 5. sect. 14. de Christiani Magistratus officio.*

e *Beza de Haereticis a civili Magistratu puniendis, adversus Martinum Bellii sectatorem & novorum Academicorum sectam.*

arguments,

of Arguments, but Arguments joyned with a great deale of impiety do encourage [illegible] perhaps that Divines from the Scripture it selfe, when as in the cases of men we are to be compelled with greater severity, as the expresse word of God commands, and religious Princes have alwaies done: And upon that subject, that Heretiques ought to be punished by the Civill Magistrate, he hath writ a book at large, answering all the objections for Tolerations and pretended libertie of conscience: And to the judgment of the Fathers, and the Moderne Writers in this point, I will adde the judgment of the Divines of *New-England* who are against the Toleration of any Church-Government and way but one: *For the Discipline appointed by Jesus Christ for his Churches is not arbitrary, that one Church may set up one and practise one forme, and another another forme, as each one shall please, but is one and the same for all Churches, and in all the Essentials and Substantials of it unchangeable, and to be kept till the appearing of Jesus Christ. And if that Discipline which we here practise be (as we are perswaded of it) the same which Christ hath appointed, and therefore unalterable, we see not how another can be lawfull.* And so in *New-England* they will not suffer *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, * Mr. *Cotton* the greatest Divine in *New-England*, and a pretious man, is against Tolerations, and holds that men may be punished for their consciences, as will appeare by his Letter to M. *Williams*, and M. *Williams* answer, (both printed) and his Exposition on the Vials, wherein he answers an objection: *But you will say conscience should not be forced*, &c. he answers, *Why do you think Heretiques were not as conscionable in the old Testament as now? if any man had a conscience to turne Jewes from God, he would have men of as much conscience to cut them off.*

Church Government and Church-Covenant discussed, pag. 31.

* Mr. Cotton powring out of the seven Vials, Pial 1. pag. 16. 17. 21. Pial 2. pag. 17.

5. *Reason.* The Magistrates Toleration of errors and new opinions is a kind of Invitation to them, a Temptation, and occasion of many falling, who otherwise never would, a snare to many, a stumbling block laid before the weake, the leaving a pit or well uncovered, an opportunity for Sathan, a mans own corruption, or seducers to work upon, and to draw away by: when men may broach opinions and vent them, hold and practise what they please without any danger, nay with the leave and countenance of the Magistrate; what advantage will not Satan and wanton witted men take by this opportunity makes many a theefe, and impunitie makes manie venture, and as 'tis a shrewd temptation to make manie fall, so a Toleration is a meanes of confirmation in the way of error, a great block to stop up the way of manie, who might be gained, for ever returning, when men know they may have their own way and are at their libertie, they will go on, the engagement of credit

&c. &c. is much being in a way to continue in it, they have no necessitie of returning to Councells, or weighing arguments: But the denyall of a Toleration, and by positive Lawes commanding the contrarie, as 'tis a great Preservative, so 'tis a Restorative, and a meanes of recovering many, when men (or they cannot have their wits, they will consider a little better what they do, as also review their former thoughts, and so may be reduced; yea, multitudes have (blessed God) they have not been left to their own libertie, but that by severity of Discipline meanes have been used: This evill of Tolerations, and good of Constrictions by Lawes hath been seen and approved of by long experience: *Augustine* that holy and learned Father from the experience of this changed his judgment about Tolerations, whereas it was his first judgment, and he had in a former Book writ, that it did not please him that Schismaticks should be compelled and forced to communion by the force of any secular power, afterwards he was of another mind, and writes that the grounds of his change were these: *The great Evill of Toleration, the great evill that impunity made many remain: The great good compulsion contributed to the making of many better*, which he saw by many Examples of whole Cities converted from Donatisme, and comming to the Unitie of the Church: In the 48. Epistle formerly quoted, he writes thus to *Vincentius*, *That it was his opinion at first that no man was to be compelled to the Unity of the Church, all was to be done by perswasion, we were to strive by disputation, and to overcome by reason, lest we should make those feined Catholiques, whom we knew to be open Hereticques; but (saith he) my opinion was overcome, not by words, but by domestique examples, for first of all my owne City was brought to me for an Example, which being wholly Donatist was converted to the Catholike Unity by the feare of the Imperiall Lawes: so many other Cities were named and reckoned up to me, to the Colonies brought hither by my Citizens, I gave place: we set not a few men, but many Cities who were Donatists to be now Catholiques, and vehemently to detest that Dictate of all separation, and zealously to love unity: which persons were by the meanes and occasion of this feare (which displeases you) made Catholiques by the Lawes of the Emperours from Constantine downe to these present Emperours. How many did therefore remain Donatists because they were thereto born, and were not compelled to come out from them, and to which Catholique Church? The terror of these Lawes, in the mouth of those, (say, the Kings of the Earth served the Lord, did so profit all these, that they bound of thanks be to God who hath broken our bonds, and hath translated us from the power of darknesse, which we should never have known to be the truth, nor arrive to know it, were it not that we had been first cast out of our liberty, but feare and terror (as they say) we were terrified from entring in by it."

arguments, but arguments joyned with a great deale of impiety do exceedingly prejudice and harden men from the fear of God: when as on the contrary the hearts of men are to be conquered with greater severity, if the expresse words of God commands, and religious Princes have alwaies done: And upon that subject, that Heretiques ought to be punished by the Civill Magistrate, he hath writ a book at large, answering all the objections for Toleration and pretended liberty of conscience: And to the judgment of the Fathers, and the Moderne Writers in this point, I will adde the judgment of the Divines of *New-England* who are against the Toleration of any Church-Government and way but one: *For the Discipline appointed by Jesus Christ for his Churches is not arbitrary, that one Church may set up one and practise one forme, and another another forme, as each one shall please, but is one and the same for all Churches, and in all the Essentials and Substantials of it unchangeable, and to be kept till the appearing of Jesus Christ. And if that Discipline which we here practise be (as we are perswaded of it) the same which Christ hath appointed, and therefore unalterable, we see not how another can be Lawfull.* And so in *New-England* they will not suffer *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, Mr. *Cotton* the greatest Divine in *New-England*, and a precious man, is against Tolerations, and holds that men may be punished for their consciences, as will appeare by his Letter to M. *Williams*, and M. *Williams* answer, (both printed) and his Exposition on the Vials, wherein he answers an objection: *But you will say conscience should not be forced &c.* he answers, *Why do you think Heretiques were not as conscionable in the old Testament as now? if any man had a conscience to turne men from God, he would have men of as much conscience to cut them off.*

Church Government and Church-Covenant discussed, page. 31.

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&c. &c. is much being in a way to continue in it, they have no necessitie of returning to Councell, or weighing arguments: But the denialll of a Toleration, and by positive Lawes commanding the contrarie, as 'tis a great Preservative, so 'tis a Restorative, a meanes of recovering many, when men see they cannot have their wils, they will consider a little better what they do, and also review their former thoughts, and so may be reduced; yea, multitudes have blessed God they have not been left to their own libertie, but that by severity of Discipline meanes have been used: This evill of Tolerations, and good of Constraining by Lawes hath been seen and approved of by long experience: *Augustine* that holy and learned Father from the experience of this changed his judgment about Tolerations, whereas it was his first judgement, and he had in a former Book writ, that it did not please him that Schismaticks should be compelled and forced to communion by the force of any secular power, afterwards he was of another mind, and writes that the grounds of his change were these: *The grounds of Tolerations are great evils that may easily grow unto enormities, as The great good conversion effected by the making of many better*, which he saw by many Examples of whole Cities converted from Donatisme, and comming to the Unitie of the Church: In the 48. Epistle formerly quoted, he writes thus to *Vincentius*, *That it was by no means to his mind, that any man was to be compelled to the Unity of the Church, as if it were to be a work of violence, as were to strive by disputation, and to overcome by words, lest we should make those feined Catholiques, whom we know to be our Enemies; but that my opinion was overcome, not by words, but by demonstrative examples, for first of all my owne City was brought to me for an Example, which being wholly for Donatus, was converted to the Catholike Unity by the feare of the Imperiall Lawes, so many other Cities were named and reckoned up to me, to the which I brought many my Colleagues, I have place: were not a few men, but whole Cities who were Donatists to be now Catholiques, and vehemently to detest that Diabolicall separation, and zealously to love unity: which persons were by the meanes and occasion of this feare (which displeases you) made Catholiques by the Lawes of the Emperours from Constantine downe to these times: Emperours that many did therefore remain Donatists because they were the rebels, and to them did compell them to come out from them, and to go to the Catholique Church: The terror of these Lawes, in the promulgation of which the Kings of the Earth served the Lord, did so profit all these, that now others say, thanks be to God who hath broken our bands, and hath translated us to the bond of peace: others would not know this to be the truth neither would we have believed this, if we had been left to our liberty, but feare made us attentive to know it: Others say, we were terrified from erring by false feares, which we judged to be*

have knowne to have been false, but by entring in, neither should we have entred in, unlesse we had been compelled. And so *Augustine* against *Gaudentius* speakes thus: *Whereas you think none must be forced to truth who are unwilling, you are deceived, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God, which makes those willing, who when they were compelled were unwilling.* And in his books of Reactactions he gives the experience of this fifth Reason as the ground of retracting what he had formerly writ and held in this point. [c] Learned *Beza* observed it in his time, that Toleracions of sects, and Liberty of conscience (as it was called), was the ground of filling *Polonia* and *Transylvania* with so many pestilent opinions, which otherwise no people under the Sun would have suffered, and that if the Magistrate had tryed by all meanes in *Transylvania*, &c. to have restrained that liberty, they had not been brought to that condition which he judged no lesse miserable then *Anabaptisme* it selfe. And he wishes that *France* had given *Polonia* an example of this one thing, and showes the great difference between the peace and true liberty of conscience enjoyed at *Geneva*, and in *Polonia*, one granting Toleracions, the other none. So (d) he shewes the benefit and good of compulsion. *I passe by that, a Augustine being taught by experience in himselfe, witnessed so often against the Donatists, many to be of that disposition that they are by nothing more kept in duty, then by severity of Discipline, so that what at first they feare for feare of punishment, afterwards they willingly cast away, professing the sharpnesse used to have been very profitable.* We have seen also by our own experience in this intermitical season (though there hath been no formall Toleration) yet for want of Government settled, and people having been left to so great liberty, multitudes are fallen, and do daily to *Antinomianisme*, *Anabaptisme*, *Independency*, yea to deny the immortality of the Soule, and then no expectation but many will fall more and more: Independents and all kind of Sectaries (as long as they can have their liberty) snuffe up the wind, will not hearken to any way whereby they may receive satisfaction, but if once the Magistrate declares, and by lawes concludes one way of Church-worship and Government, then it may be they will beare Reason: Men as long as they have any hopes will stand out, who yet when they see no remedy, will examine and consider: Now what account

God

[a] *August. ep. 71. Gaudent. Epist. lib. 2. cap. 17. Quod autem vobis videtur, invitos ad veritatem non esse cogendos, invitatos admonendos Scripturas, neque virtutem Dei, qua sibi voluntes facit, dum cogantur invitos.*

[b] *August. Retract. lib. 2. c. 5.*

[c] *Beza epist. 6. Locos quod tetigi adversus Donatistas et Circumcelliones Augustinus retulit ex persona ipsa eadem, sceleratos esse ingenio ut nulla re magis quam severitate in officio continentur: adeo ut quod imitis fame formidine vix arcent: idipsum postea libenter faciant, et experientia illam sibi salutarrimam fuisse testentur.*

(d) *Beza de Haeret. a Magistr. puniendis*

God will exact for his Name prophaned, for the Sacraments and Scriptures abused by the handling and administration of them who are not called, and what answer must be made for the ruine of Soules, harvest of sinne, corruption of doctrine alwaies following the publike Toleration of heresies and schismes, I humbly leave to be fully considered of, and wisely prevented by the High Court of Parliament, who must think, that silence provokes, and sufferance emboldens men to forsake Gods Truth and his Church, even as in civill affaires the neglecting of justice maintains disorders.

6. Reason. A Toleration of one or more different waies of Churches and Church Government, from the Church and Church Government established, will be to this Kingdome very mischievous, pernitious and destructive, in regard of the effects and consequents of it; how faire soever a Toleration may be pretended, and how small soever the differences, yet 'tis of a vast and dreadfull consequense to this Kingdome: Different Formes of Churches and Church-Government in one State must needs lay a foundation of strife and division therein. It is the admitting of a seed of perpetuall division within its selfe, an opening a sluce to let in strife and contentions in all places publike and private, Church and Common-wealth, in Parliaments, Corporations, among the Ministers, in Families: Now how great an evill this is, all wise States know, and can stand with no Christian policie, however it may agree with *Machiavillian*: The different Interests and Principles of the Churches established and tolerated with other things concurrent, especiallie in the party tolerated, apprehending themselves the weaker, will be working in them to watch all advantages to grow and increase, and to get into places and favour with great men and Princes (as we see the Heretiques did in Ecclesiasticall Historics, and the *Arminians* in the Netherlands with the Magistrates, and will never rest working til they get the upper hand, and suppresse the other.) But besides the continuall heart-burnings and divisions between the Ministers of the different Churches, the people among themselves, the husband and wife with the corruption of doctrine, a Toleration will be a likely meanes of producing civill warres in this Land, and whereas now we have a war between King and Parliament, we may expect a war among the people, yea the Toleration desired would prove a mighty advantage for the Court party to make use of those seets, and by enlarging some favours to them, (being the weaker party to gain them) by their helpe to overthrow the Government established, and to advance the Prerogative, the sad effects and mischiefes already (without any formall Toleration) of the different Churches and Governments, do appeare in the jealousies, divisions, delayes, laying down of places, in not being so active, &c. whereby the

Court party is strengthened, Reformation hindred, and the good party weakned: Now considering the many dangerous effects and consequences of a Toleration to this state, and considering the small differences between the *Apologists* and the Presbyterians (as themselves say) and that they can for Apolog. Narrat. pag. 4. need come to our Churches, and partake in the Sacraments, *hold Communion with us as the Churches of Christ*, why should they have different Churches and Government allowed? The Parliament upon so small a ground and needlesse a cause hath the lesse cause to give way to a Toleration, which would certainly produce so great mischiefes and evils.

7. *Reason.* Independencie and the Churchway besides the evill of it in its selfe considered, (as being a schisme in forsaking the reformed Churches and constituting new, the way of constituting Churches by the people, the way of making their Ministers, the refusing of beleevers and their Children to the Sacraments (unlesse they be Church-members), with many more, all flat against the Primitive patterns) hath ever been from first to last a Fountain of evill and a root of bitternesse, of many bitter divisions and separations amongst themselves, of manifold errors and other mischiefs in those Churches and places where they lived, God having alwaies witnessed against it, and never blessing it with peace and truth. I shall not need to relate the histories of the Anabaptists (the highest forme of Independencie and the Churchway), what evils they fell into, and the mischiefes they brought upon *Germanie*, and how God cursed and scattered them: As for the Brownists the middle forme of Independencie, the Apologists themselves confesse they had *sad all miscarriages and shipwracks*; And I could tell a sad storie (but that it would be now too long), even from *Bolton* and *Browne* the first and prime leaders down to the present Brownists at *Amsterdam*, of the Apostacies, Heresies, Separations and bitter divisions, with the unkindely fearfull ends which have fallen out amongst them, but in respect my book so much exceeds the proportion intended, I shall reserve that for a more distinct handling. And for the semi-Brownists and Independents (so cal'd by way of distinction) they have not been free; The Churches of the Apologists have had their bitter divisions and fearfull miscarriages, as the Reader may remember in these pages of this present Answer, pag. 35. 36, 37, 142, 143, 144. with some erroneous conceits, falled into and preached in one of the Churches: So in the Churches of *New-England* there have been so manie errors, differences, and evills, that I believe had we but a true impartiall storie of *New-England* for the first seven or eight years (after they were come to anie number) we should have the strangest storie (next that of the Anabaptists) and

old

old Brownists) one of them in the world; in a word, they were brought by their Independencie and Church-Principles next door to ruine both spirituall and temporall, the sad experience of which hath made them wheele about of later yeares towards Presbyteriall-government, and instead of that, not being yet formallie come to it, to take *aliquid analogum* in the first constituting of Churches, making Ministers, *&c.* which at first they did not, and to give more power to Classes and Synods then they did manie yeares ago, as by comparing some Letters from thence in those times written by Ministers over into *England*, and *M. Cottons* late book will be evident. In a word, he that will observe it shall finde the end of Independencie infinite schisms, separations, errours, inconstancie and uncertaintie in judgment, yea barbarisme and confusion, and the Toleration of it by this State would be the opening of a floud-gate to manie other errours and evills besides what evill is in that, being a way all along wherein it differs from the Reformed Churches either beside or against the Word of God: And should the Parliament (which God forbid, and I hope is farre from their thoughts) give the Independents a Toleration of their way and Churches, they should give they know not what, having never yet spoken out all that they hold (this Apologie containing but a little part of their way) besides taking in their second great principle, page 10. Apolog. of not making their *present judgement and practise a binding Law for the future*, the Parliament may grant grosse Brownisme, Anabaptisme, within a short time, manie falling off according to their principles of new light, to cast off communion with their owne Churches as some of *M. Symsons* have done; and let it be but remembred what I now write, whether some of the Apologists (if they come not in and joyne with the Reformed Churches) doe not within a few years go a great way further, I think, had they staid together in *Holland* till this time, without anie hopes of a Toleration here, some of them had gone farre by this time of day: Anointing with oyle was begun to be brought in, Hymnes had been moved for in one of their Churches, and if I may believe the report of a religious Person in an open company, affirming it again and again, when I doubted it, that a member of the Church of *Arnheim* (who was also named to me) related, that had they stayed there a little longer, the ordinance of Hymnes had been practised amongst them, one being chosen and agreed upon by the Church to exercise that Ordinance. And I am able to demonstrate it, that the Apologists keeping but to their principles (besides the principle of a Reserve) must yet go a great way further, and supposing the Parliament should make a proposition to them, We shall grant you this and this, and so (which be the present principles you hold forth) but if you bring in any thing more

or

or go farther, then your Churches shall be dissolved, and we will recall what we granted you (because we will be sure to know what we allow in matters of Religion, be at a certainty for that,) I do not think the Apologists would accept of a Toleration upon those tearmes, and such a condition: The beginnings of errors commonly are most modest, but let alone sometime, they exceed all bounds, how far most of the Arminians proceeded beyond what *Arminius* held, or themselves at first, the learned books of many Divines and experience showes, and if a Toleration were granted to the Apologists and all those of their communion to exercise their consciences, I feare before a yeer went about many would turn Anabaptists, &c. but I desire rather to pray against a toleration, then to prophesie of the evill of it: But supposing the best that can be, that the State had an Assurance the Apologists and their Churches would not go one step further then now they hold, and that the Toleration should not be made use of to any further errors, yet the Parliament could not allow it, unlesse they would grant a Toleration of Brownisme; and if Brownisme be a bitter errour and way, then the way of the Apologists is not very sweet, their way being but *Browns* younger brother, agreeing with the Brownists in the nature and definition of the visible Church, in the Independent power of a particular Congregation, in the way of making Officers, in the way of their ordinances, as Prophesying, in the way of Forms of Prayer, in the Sacraments, none to be admitted but Church members, *cum multis aliis*, and I desire the Apologists to give any materiall difference (however their grounds are different, and they do not go so far in consequences, nor are not so grosse) between their Churches and the Brownists: As for that of the power of the people and the Officers, in giving the power to the Officers, but the Brownists to the people. I answer, however the Apologists differ in that point from the Brownists, in words, phrases, methods, and give us many fine words and flattering similitudes, going about, yet the truth is, they differ not in substance in their practise, but all comes to one end and issue, and all is resolved into the body of the Congregation, and their power from first to last amongst the Apologists as well as amongst the Brownists, (though here 'tis carried in a fairer way, as fine wits must do, and that they may have something to say, wherein they are not Brownists,) but of this the Reader may see more in this Answer, page 204, 205, 206,

8. *Reason.* The Presbyteriall way, the order and government of the reformed Churches hath been countenanced from Heaven, and blessed from above with the preservation of the truth and unitie of Religion, against heresies and errors in Doctrine, Idolatry and corruption in worship, and all sorts of sects and schisme, it hath been free of those mischiefes and evils of errrors and divisions

visions which the Independent Churches have swarmed with, and that through a long tract of time and the experience of almost a hundred yeares together: In Reformed Churches where this Government hath beene set up, and hath had its free way and exercise, even where it hath wanted the advantages of the Magistrate being a member of the Church, and hath had manie disadvantages in regard of the spirits and dispositions of the people with manie temptations to errors, yet it hath in those places kept out errours and schismes, preserved puritie of doctrine and peace: For example, in the Churches of *France*, it is evident by manie yeares experiences, (though their Princes bee Popish) and they live in the middest of Papists, yet by GODS blessing upon their Governement and Order, their Churches have beene, and are pure in doctrine, few or none falling to Poperie, Arminianisme, or to Sects and Schismes: and when anie errours doe arise amongst them, yet by meanes of that Governement they are soone suppressed, and prevented from spreading. It was the observation of *Beza* in his time, of the *French* Churches, though France *was grievously afflicted, and oppressed by many, yet for that which concerned Religion, it was free from all troubles and stirres: And yet notwithstanding there was nothing wanting of all those things by which Satan might easily draw and move the* French *to all kind of troubles; for example, an inbred naturall lightnesse in that Nation, wits verie readie for subtiltie and niceties, the minde of the Magistrates intent also upon it, that all manner of waies the Christian Churches might destroy themselves with their inward dissentions: notwithstanding all this, no strength of the adversaries hitherto, no not in the middest of all the tempests of warre, hath beene able to breake thorough the most strong Bulwarkes and Walls of Ecclesiasticall Discipline.*

Nec tamen quiequam eorum defuit quibus Satan facile Gallos meos ad quasvis turbas impelleret, ingenita videlicet huic genti viletas, ingenia ad subtilitatem argutias prompta, Magistratuum in hoc attentus animus, ut quemadmodo Christianae Ecclesiae intestinis dissidiis semetipsas destruerent, adeo quidem ut nemo prodire potuit tam sceleratus, quem Pontificii modo nostris adversaretur, non foverint. Aggerem tamen firmissimum Ecclesiasticae disciplinae perfringere nullum adhuc adversariorum robur, ne in medio quidem bellorum tempestatibus potuit. Epist. 8.

For the Church of *Scotland*, I have heard it often, and that from good hands, that during the free use end exercise of Presbyteriall government there, never anie heresie or schisme tooke the third man, but by means of that Government it hath beene pull'd up at first, and either the particular person broaching the errour recovered, or however prevented

before three have been infected with it: * *Beza* in his first Epistle gives a notable testimony to this government by the blessing of God upon it in the City of *Geneva*: Geneva (*be it spoken without offence*) *hath rather escaped then overcome all the inward tempests against Religion, so great as no City perhaps under Heaven hath done the like, it never yet felt any differences, or contentions of the Pastors amongst themselves in points of doctrine, 'tis free from the furies of the Anabaptists the contagion of the Libertines, the blasphemies of Servetians, a City otherwise open to all strangers and comers, and for that cause very fit and subject to the wiles of Satan. But truly it owes all this by Gods blessing to the Ecclesiasticall discipline duly and diligently observed, which also now causes that all sorts almost out of all Nations under Heaven there gathered together, in peace and in true liberty of conscience, do willingly accord together.*

* *Geneva (absit verbo injuria) tempestates intestinas adversus religionem comparatas vitavit potius quam superavit, quantas nulla fortasse sub cœlo civitas: nulla unquam Pastorum in doctrina inter se dissidia sensit; ab Anabaptistarum furoribus, a Libertinorum contagione, a Servetanorum & eorum quibus hospitium magno vestro malo adhuc præbetis, blasphemijs immunis est, civitas alioqui omnibus advenis patens ac proinde Satanæ insidijs valde opportuna: Debet id autem profecto secundum Dei benignitatem, Ecclesiasticæ, non tyrannidi, ut ex fructibus saltem apparet, sed diligenter observata disciplinæ quæ nunc etiam facit, ut omnes ex omnibus pene sub cœlo situ gentibus collecti in pace et vera libertate conscientiæ ultro conquiescamus.*

Reformat. of Church-government in *Scotland*. p. 3.

The Commissioners of the Church of Scotland *tell us, that this government hath made the Church of Christ* terrible as an Army with banners, and *like* a strong and fenced City, against which *the adversaries have despaired to prevaile, but by making a breach in this wall, and where they have gained ground or gotten any advantage, either the wall hath not been built, or being built hath been broken down, or not vigilantly kept by the watchmen.*

The Anatomist Anatomised.

But there will be objected against this a passage lately printed in a book of Mr. *Simpsons, that there have been as great defections both of Ministers and people unto errors under Presbyteriall Government as under any other: as it is cleare in the Low-Countries where so many Ministers and people turned Arminians, Papists, Socinians:* I have instanced in severall reformed Churches, and showed Gods blessing upon Presbyteriall government, here's only one instance among all the reformed Churches brought against it, and to that I shall give these three answers: Though the Churches in the Low-Countries are Presbyteriall, yet withall there is a Toleration of other Churches and government there, which is one of the causes of it and hinders Presbyteriall government: A Toleration will spoile any Church and government; if Presbyteriall government be setled,

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and a Toleration given in this Land; that will marre all, so that the Parliament may be pleased to take notice by this, and observe the difference between those Churches which have no Tolerations, as *Scotland*, *Geneva*, and the *Low-Countries* which grant a Toleration, the one are pure in doctrine, &c. the other makes Ministers and people turn Arminians, Socinians, &c.

2. *Ans.* There is another Reason why it may so fall out in the *Low-Countries*, because Presbyteriall government hath not its free course there in Synods, but 'tis much disturbed over 'tis in *France*, *Geneva*, *Scotland*, whereas by their Canons and Constitutions in the *Netherlands*, there should be a Nationall Synod once in three years, they have not, nor cannot procure one in twenty years and upwards; and whereas Provinciall Synods should be yeerly, they have them in some Provinces but once in five and seven years: besides there are other disturbances in Presbyteriall government which hinders the free course of it in *Holland*, many encroachments are made upon the rights of their Church due to them by vertue of their discipline, and heretofore established; In a word, that Anabaptisticall and Familisticall spirit in many, and that corrupt spirit and principles in others, with those principles of Toleration, doth much check and stop Presbyteriall government from having its perfect work, and bringing forth its full effects. The true Reason of so many Ministers and people turning Arminians and Socinians in the *Low-Countries*, was the want of Synods, which *Arminius* and his followers alwaies declined, and by flattering the Magistrates kept off for many years, in which time so many fell, whereas if Presbyteriall government had had its course, and a Nationall Synod had been called, yet but a Provinciall for the Arminians to have answered in at first before it had so much spread, and they gained so many of the Magistrates on their side, we should have found there would have been no ground for M. *Simpson* to write thus, *As is clear in the Low-Countries where so many Ministers and people turned Arminians, Papists and Socinians*: In a word, till the calling of Synods, and the power of Presbyteriall government was shaken, and some Arminians by flattery and policy wrought to put by Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, and appealed to the Magistrates, as Mr. *Simpson* does in this *Apologie* from the Assembly, there was not so great a defection both of Ministers and people unto errors, in turning Papists, Socinians, &c.

3. Though Presbyteriall government hath not its free course in the *Low-Countries* as in *France*, *Geneva*, *Scotland*, besides the Toleratton there, yet there are infinitely fewer miscarriages in censures, divisions, errors in the Presbyteriall Churches then in the Independents, there having been more contions, miscarriages, falling into errors in one small Church of the Independent-way at *Amsterdam*, and that within lesse then one yeare, then in all

the Churches in some Provinces: I remember perfectly, I have read in M. *Paget's* Arrow against Separation (a man who lived long in *Holland*, and much versed in the Controversie) how he showes, that out of a few Members in the Brownists Churches more fall to Anabaptisme, *&c.* then out of many thousand members of the Presbyteriall Churches amongst the *Dutch*, or out of all the *English* Reformed Churches there. So that notwithstanding this new objection brought against Presbyteriall government, if the Parliament should please to settle it, and that in the full power and free use of Classes and Synods, denying also a Toleration for Independencie (unto which all erroneous and discontented spirits upon all occasions would flow and gather) instead of opening a wide gate for errors, divisions and many other mischiefes, they shall lay a sure foundation for truth and peace in these Churches: And in the last words of the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland* I conclude this last Reason against a Toleration: *The Church of* England *which God hath blessed with so much learning and piety, by this Reformation and uniformity with other Reformed Churches, which all of us have solemnly sworn, and subscribed to endeavour in our severall places and callings, should be a praise in the earth.* Now did not other occasions call me to take off my hand, besides the book it selfe swelled already to such a number of sheets, I would have answered all the Reasons brought both for Tolerations in general, and particularly for the Congregationall way, as that men are to be perswaded in matters of Religion and not compelled, as that the Conscience is to be left free, as that the deniall of a Toleration will be a great persecution, as that this is the way to make men hypocrites, as that Gods people are a willing people, &c. but reserving this to another season, in the close of this Discourse, I will propound these following questions to the *Apologists*.

1. Whether the commanding of men by the power of Lawes to do their duties, to do the things which God requires of them, with the using of outward means to work them to it when unwilling, be unlawfull for the Magistrate, and against Christian liberty, yea or no?

2. In your moving for a Toleration, do you desire it for you five only, with those who are actually and will come in to be members of your Churches, or for all the Churches who are of the same way and Communion, if for your selves and Churches only (which would be more tolerable, a few then a great number, and you being persons of more worth then most of the others) consider the solemne League and Covenant is against it, *That we shall without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of schisme, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine*; so that you cannot be tolerated more then others, besides if that were granted, you being but five Ministers and

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making up but three or foure Churches, the Parliament would be never the nearer in giving satisfaction, for what should become of all the rest of the Ministers and Churches in City and Countrey, of M. C. M. B. D. H. M. L. M. G. M. W. &c. the Parliament would be accounted partiall and further off from giving content, then if they granted none at all. But if it be said you desire it for all Churches of your constitution, I answer, expresse so much under your hands, and I will then give you an answer.

3. Whether would you have a Toleration granted in the generall, and indifferently for all consciences, sects, and opinions; or only for some sorts of opinions; I suppose, being wise men you will not expresse your selves for a Toleration in the first sense, but in the latter, I desire to know of you then what limits and bounds you will set, and where the Parliament shall stop, and what rules you will give for this, as first, whether the limitation shall be a Toleration only for all different formes of Church Government and order, so long as they agree in Doctrine with the Church established, and are Orthodox; but not of doctrine: Now if you hold so, then the *Brownists*, and the Bishops, with those who are for the Hierarchie must be tolerated as well as you; many Episcopall men being sounder in doctrine then some of your way, and if so, then the simple *Anabaptists*, and that sort of simple *Anabaptists* called Dippers will come in too, saying, that Baptisme at such an age, and baptizing in Rivers by dipping, are but matters of order and time, and what if yet a new forme of Church-Government, and way of externall order in the Administration of Gods Ordinances be set up by some, a way which hath never yet been practised by any, must that be tolerated also? consider with your selves whether there may not be a safer allowance of difference in some doctrines and opinions, then of different governments, as also what you have expressed of the consequence of Church Government and order, and then resolve me: whether you will have all formes of Church government allowed, and in my Rejoynder I will apply my selfe particularly to show you the danger of that, and how much hazard there is even of the Doctrine from the Discipline and Order, if that be not right. Or secondly, would you have a Toleration in points of Doctrine too, namely in lesser differences, I desire to know what you will make the rule and measure of those lesser differences? whether whatever may stand with saving grace, and is not against the fundamentals of Doctrine and civill government, or what else? Now if you mean so, who shall determine and judge what may stand with saving grace, &c. every Heretick, Socinian, &c. will plead his opinion may, and I aske of you, whether many points and practises very bad and pernitious may not stand with saving-grace in some men, at least for a time what you say to

Polygamie that hath stood with saving grace, may that be tolerated? what think you of many Arminian Tenets, some Lutheran opinions, Antinomian Doctrines, and other dangerous points held by great Scholars, as by *Brentius, Osiander, Flaccius, Illyricus*, may not some of these opinions stand with grace, and might not some of these have grace, and must these now be allowed to be preached in a Kingdome that hath established Articles of Religion and a Confession of Faith? and shall such preachers gather people into Churches? if all points may be preached, and Churches allowed for all Doctrines that are not against fundamentals, and that may stand with saving grace, there will be a strange face of Protestant Reformed Churches, infinite novelties may be broached, and great stirs caused in a Kingdome. I desire you in your Reply to state your lesser differences, and to set down your Boundaries, what, and what not, and accordingly I shall answer; In the mean time from these few hints, you and the Reader may see, besides the unlawfulnesse, there's difficulty where to fasten a Toleration. Now in the close of my discourse against Toleration, I take the humble boldnesse to represent to the Honorable Houses of Parliament, that tis the Magistrates duty not to suffer schismes, heresies, and other errors to grow and increase in the Church; for as they are Magistrates they truly serve God, whose Ministers they are, and kisse the Son, in revenging the injuries wantonly committed against God and his truth, and in preserving the externall politie of Doctrine and manners: one of the great services Princes and Parliament performe to Christ in reference to their great and high calling, consists in making Lawes for the observing the Worship and Government of his House, and by Lawes prohibiting all other worships and governments. And I humbly beseech the Parliament seriously to consider the depths of Satan in this designe of a Toleration, how this is now his last plot and designe, and by it would undermine and frustrate the whole work of Reformation intended, 'tis his Master-piece for *England*, and for effecting of it, he comes and moves not in Prelates and Bishops, not in furious Anabaptists, &c. but in holy men, excellent Preachers, moderate and faire men, not for a Toleration of heresies and grosse opinions, *but an allowance of a latitude to some lesser differences with peaceablenesse*, this is *candidus ille Diabolus*, as * *Luther* speakes, and *meridianus Diabolus*, as *Johannes Gersonius*, and *Beza* expresse it, comming under the merits of much suffering, and well deserving, clad in the white garments of Innocencie and Holinesse: In a word, could the devill effect a Toleration, he would

* *Nec Diabolus ipse venit ut Diabolus, praesertim candidus ille non vult diabolus deformis et ater esse in suis ministris, sed mundus et candidus, et ut talis appareat proponit et ornat omnia verba et opera sua pretexto veritatis, et nominis Dei, Luth. loc. Comm. class. 5. pa. 24.*

would think he had gained well by the Reformation, and made a good exchange of the Hierarchie to have a Toleration for it. I am confident of it upon serious thoughts and long searching into this point of the evills and mischiefe of a Toleration, that if the devil had his choice, whether the Hierarchie, Ceremonies and Lyturgie should be established in this Kingdome, or a Toleration granted, he would chuse and prefer a Toleration before them, and would willinglie part with, and give up all those for a Toleration of divers Sects, and different Churches. To conclude, if the way of independencie be of God, and the *Apologists* can make that good, let it be established by the Parliament, and let's all come to that, if it be not, why then should it be tolerated? and why did the *Apologists* move for a Toleration before that ever it came to be debated and argued in the Assembly. And now for a conclusion and closing up this Answer to the *Apologeticall Narration*, I might as some Authours doe in answering Books gather together, and draw up into one all the maine particulars of the *Apologie* animadverted upon, and put them under certain heads, and rank them in their severall forms, and so present a *Synopsis* of them to both Houses and the Reader, whereby they might have all in their eye at once, see much in a little: As. 1. all the expressions of the high praises of themselves and their owne partie scattered up and downe in the *Apologie*. 2. The Aspersions Depressions, Insinuations both open and more secret of the Reformed Churches, and of the Assemblie. 3. The crossings and interfearings of some passages in the booke with others. 4. The plaine and manifest untruths expressed in manie pages. 5 All the Reservations and Concealments of matters both of opinions and practises in the Church-way. 6. The double doubtfull expressions both in words and matter. 7. The mistaking of the questions in difference both on their own side, and the Presbyterians, stating their owne differences with the lowest, and the Reformed Churches at the highest. 8. The generall expressions without coming downe to particulars, all which being deducted and extracted from the *Apologie*, what remains behind (saving some few arguments hinted) but a just testimonie of the Parliament and Assemblie, with a true character of the people and multitude, and a brand upon the old separation, which passages also of the Parliament, Assembly, People and Separation are brought in, both the praise of one, and the dispraise of the other, in reference to the magnifying and commending the more the innocencie and patience, &c. of the Apologists; but I spare, the wise Reader may observe the passages, and I have animadverted upon them all along in my Answer. I could have made one part of my Answer to this *Apologie* as strange (though true) paraphrase upon it, and *ordine inverso* have turned the *Narration* of

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themselves for the most part contrary: But I shall reserve that, with some other things I have yet to say in matter of fact, till I put out my Rejoynder to their Reply: In the mean time I shall conclude this *Antapologie* with turning my selfe to the *Apologists*. Brethren, I beseech and exhort you to search and try your hearts and waies, both in what may be precedent to this *Apologie*, and with what spirit and intensions you writ it, that God should thus leave you to your selves to make such an *Apologie*, let your Consciences reflect upon what is plainly laid down before you in this Answer, and do not seeke shifts and subterfugies, consider there is a speciall hand of God in it, and 'tis not ordinary that both so many publike and particular persons should appear in writing against a book, as have done against yours, the Churches beyond the Seas, the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, with three distinct Answers made by particular persons, besides I heare another Answer is comming forth: Certainly the Lord left you to humble you, and that you might know what was in your hearts, your great applause and being cryed up by the people, your favour and power with many great persons, your great estates and abundance, your confidence of carrying any thing and saying any thing, your wisdome and great parts were too strong for you, and deceived you; Let my counsell be acceptable to you, repent, repent of writing this *Apologie*, give glory to God, and recant it, and testifie your repentance by dissolving your Churches, and comming in to us, and that you may repent and recall this *Apologie*, I will present to you the greatnesse of your sin and folly in making the *Apologie*, and it stands in these particulars: 1. It was an unseasonable disorderly work for the time & way of it. 2. 'Tis a *Narration* full of mentall Reservations, high praises of your selves, but censuring and scandalizing the reformed Churches of Christ. 3. There are many untruths in it, & that not only where you make naked relations of things, but where you make professions before God and the World; yea, where you make serious Invocations of God to attest them, and men also, and all this is done publikely by printing, and deliberately, and upon a design to take the more with the people, and to make way the better for a Toleration. 4. There is a breach of the solemne Covenant subscribed by you, especially in that clause of the first branch, *we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, and Forme of Church-Government*, instead of which before you ever so much as tried and endeavoured it, by debating those matters of difference in the Assemblie, whereby it might be brought to an Uniformity; you endeavour by this *Apologie* a Toleration, and sue for an exemption of Conjunction and Uniformity in Church-Government, which is strange

you

you should desire, especially having covenanted to the contrary, which breach of covenant is aggravated also, that you do not onlie do it your selves, but you labour to bring the Houses into it by moving them to grant you a Toleration: Now if a simple and single untruth need repentance, what repentance ought there to be for such a compounded aggravated evill as yours is: And as I have represented it to your owne consciences, that you may smite upon the thigh, so I turne you over to your Churches, whereof you are Ministers, that they deale with you for your great sin, and either bring you to Confession and Repentance, or else proceed to censure, did I know where your Churches dwelt and where they meet, I might then come and complaine to them of your great sin, but instead of comming, I send them this Answer, and hereby give them notice, and am readie to satisfie anie that shall desire further proofe, and instead of declaring by letters the offence, I do by printing declare it, and require of the Churches, especiallie M. *Sympsons* Church, as they will not be guiltie of suffering known sin in the Church, as they would not suffer sin to lie upon a brother, and as they would vindicate the glorie and honour of Christ, that they call M. *Sympson* to an account and admonish him, and bring him to publike repentance for his publike sin, or else upon impenitencie and obstinacie that they cast him out of the Church; and I believe the sin he is charged with will fall under the subject of that dreadfull sentence according to what sins your selves judge that sentence is to be put in execution for, *Apol. pag. 9.* But if M. *Sympsons* Church neglect, and will not question this sin, then I desire the rest of the Churches of that Communion to send to the Churches of the *Apologists*, and to charge them with their countenancing of sin, and if the Churches will still beare and wink at sin, and continue impenitent, that then the rest of the Churches, namely, M. *Lockyers*, M. *Carters*, D. *Holmes*, &c. doe pronounce *the heavy sentence of Non-communion* against the Apologists Churches, *and further to declare and protest this with the causes thereof to all other Churches of Christ, that they may do the like*; to send also to *New-England*, and give notice to all the Churches of the Separation, that they may Non-communion the *Apologists* Churches. But if the particular Churches of the *Apologists*, and all the Churches of their owne Communion will all hold to favour sin, neither question the *Apologists*, nor their Churches, then we shall have a cleare instance of the partialitie of those Churches, and of their allowing of sin among themselves, and of the insufficiencie of those Remedies of Submission, Non-Communion, Declaration and Protestation.

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A Discovery how they of *New-England* came first to fall to the Independent way. p. 34, 35.

The Apologists profession in their *Apologeticall Narration*, of the Parish Churches of *England* showed to be contrary to what some of them in Letters and other Manu-

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The Apologists Principles and practises contrary to their Declaration about our Parish Churches. p. 39,40,41.

The Apologists profession, that they did and would hold communion with the Churches of *England*, with all the proofes brought for it showed to be fallacious. p. 43,44,45,46.

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The Apologists *Narration* about their agreeing with the Reformed Churches in Government and censures lame and defective, concealing what they practised not with them, as also the different way of practising the things, besides practising more censures then expressed, as deposition of an officer in M. *Wards* case. p. 54,55.

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That the Apologists setting aside the old Testament, and that part of the new too, the Gospels (which they mention not as the rule of Worship and Government:) cannot out of the Acts and Epistles make good many things of their way, as Ministers to be made by the people alone, as the Church Covenant, *&c.* p. 57.

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stood, p. 59, 60.
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FINIS.

Reader when my Antapologie went the second time to the Presse, upon a review I corrected many Errata that had escaped the Presse the first time, but the Booke being printed at two severall Printing Houses, and the sheets never brought to me to correct, nor I seeing them till they were wrought of from the Presse, I cannot but think there are many Errata and mistakes; but however not having time to read over my Book and to examine every page and line (as having new Books a coming shortly against the Sects (I must venture upon thy ingenuity, intreating thee to correct what mistakes thou meetest with, and not to impute them to the Author, but to that common condition that befals Books at the Presse, especially when the Author cannot attend the Presse. I desire thee to take notice that in some of the pages the figures are mistaken, as 43. set for 42. as 131. for 125. and so in some others, and upon looking over the Book here and there these faults presently presented themselves to view.

Page 40. l. 34. adde after true Churches these words left out, cannot stand together, *page* 59. l. 30. r. for and of, and not of, line 29. r. substantials, p. 89. l. 16. for indiction read distinction.

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